1961

The Sociology of Stratification: a Theory of the Power Structure of Society.

John Drenan Kelley
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

THE SOCIOLOGY OF STRATIFICATION:

A THEORY OF THE POWER STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by
John Drenan Kelley
A.B., Harvard University, 1950
M.A., University of Minnesota, 1957
June, 1961

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

No scholarly achievement is possible without the cooperative efforts of several persons. For what there be of virtue in this dissertation, I owe a debt of gratitude to the following.

I am truly grateful to Rudolf Heberle, Boyd Professor of Sociology, for his constant scholarly advice and encouragement which are responsible for my genuine interest in stratification theory. His diligence and patience in advising, criticizing and editing the several drafts of this dissertation are sincerely appreciated.

I am also indebted to Frederick L. Bates, Associate Professor of Sociology, who has given much assistance and constructive advice in the formulation of the theoretical models, and has consented to the reproduction of some of his diagrams on role theory.

I wish to thank all the members of my committee for their encouragement and assistance: Roland J. Pellegrin, Walfrid J. Jokinen and Vernon J. Parenton of the Sociology Department; William G. Haag and Fred B. Kniffen of the

Department of Geography and Anthropology.

I am indebted to Mrs. Franziska Toennies Heberle for checking my translation of Max Weber's "Estates and Classes," and making several important corrections and revisions.

Finally, I wish to thank my mother for financing the dissertation, and my wife for her constant help and forbearance.

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ABSTRACT

Up until now the phenomenon of structured, ranked inequality has been referred to by such terms as stratification, social stratification, class or social class. Although it is true that names are nothing but "labels," it is also true that names do influence individual and social action. It may well be that the very use of the terms indicated above has contributed to the fact that this aspect of sociology is often considered in this country as a subsidiary area of sociological study (sometimes as a minor one). And yet stratification has long been recognized by European scholars as constituting one of the most significant aspects of social organization. It is therefore as a major point of departure that this dissertation is conceived in terms of a "sociology of stratification," denoting thereby a major subdiscipline within sociology.

The early history of stratification theory is reviewed, with special attention to the "classical tradition," as exemplified in the writings of Adam Ferguson, John Millar, Adam Smith and Karl Marx. The stratification views of

Marx and Max Weber are analyzed quite thoroughly, with the aim of correcting some of the many current misunderstandings and misinterpretations. Other "classical" writings, such as those of Werner Sombart, Ferdinand Toennies and Rudolf Heberle are also discussed. Contemporary stratification theory and empirical research are criticized with relation to "classical theory."

A paradigm is constructed for a proposed theory of stratification, based upon the "classical tradition," and organized in accordance with the structural-functional model. This model, it is believed, is not "static," as many critics maintain, but is a model which, if properly constructed, can and must take into account not only dysfunctions but conflict and change as well. It is proposed that stratification theory must be based upon a number of requisites, as follows: Stratification theory must grow out of, and in conformity with, organization theory. Stratification theory and empirical research are interdependent; research must be based upon theory, and theory must be modified or refined in accordance with research findings. Stratification is conceived in terms of positions within the structural-functional system, rather than in

terms of individuals, who are considered as the occupants of positions and are dealt with under the topics of "recruitment of individuals for the positions," and "mobility of individuals and groups."

Stratification is defined as an explicitly or implicitly recognized functional system of differentiation and ranking of positions within groups, associations, communities, and the society, itself, which is standard for the society or a major segment of its structure, in terms of the unequal distribution of power, which system is relatively stable over a period of generations. Theoretical models are constructed for three types of societal stratification systems: caste, estate and class. These systems are distinguished from each other, not on the basis of degree of mobility permitted within the system, but according to the differences in structure and in the source of legitimization.

A class system is defined as a stratification system in an economically oriented society in which strata are formed on the basis of the relations of their members to the production and distribution of goods and services. A tentative working model is suggested to serve as a basis

for descriptive and quantitative studies of the class structure in the United States. Plans are outlined for a grouping of occupations according to their class position, based upon this model, and which will make possible quantitative studies of the size of classes, the degree of individual mobility, and changes in the class structure.

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND AND THE PROBLEM

Social stratification has been of constant and increasing interest to sociologists ever since the earliest beginnings of the discipline. And long before sociology we find that social thinkers everywhere have been aware of, and concerned about the phenomena of social ranks, classes and castes, and with the allocation of duties and responsibilities among the various strata within the social system, and have often recognized this type of social differentiation as a possible source of conflict. Quite possibly as a result of this last fact, there has been a tremendous discrepancy in the manner in which stratification distinctions have been viewed by different writers.

The ancient hymns of the Rig-Veda (c. 1500 B.C.) tell of the origin of the four main castes of the Hindus, from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the supreme spirit, Purusha, thus giving religious sanction to the caste system. Later sacred writings, compiled throughout

the next twenty centuries, spell out in detail the rights and duties of each of the castes and emphasize their obligations to each other.[1] India offers the classic example of a religiously sanctioned stratification system which has remained (until recently) almost impervious to time and culture contact for thousands of years.

Confucius (551-479 B.C.) perceived the distinctions existing between gentry and peasantry, or between ruler, princes, hereditary aristocracy, ministers, officials, scholars, and the common people, and taught that the relations within and between the various classes should always be guided by the moral law (tao), and in accordance with the principle of social order (li) and the Golden Rule of "reciprocity" (shu).[2] This is an excellent example of the often repeated attempt to rationalize and legitimize an existing stratification system, a practice which was quite prevalent during the Middle Ages in Europe.

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) perceived the existence "in

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[1]Robert O. Ballou (ed.), The Bible of the World (New York: The Viking Press, 1939), pp. 21, 103-104, 113-14.

[2]Lin Yutang (ed. and tr.), The Wisdom of Confucius (New York: The Modern Library, 1938), passim.

all states" of "three elements: one class is very rich, another very poor, and a third in a mean." Since Aristotle believed that "moderation and the mean are best," he felt that it was clearly best "to possess the gifts of fortune in moderation; for in that condition of life men are most ready to follow rational principle."[3] Aristotle may well be called the "father" of the three-class scheme of stratification which is so popular today with most writers. In addition, Aristotle's criterion of stratification, wealth, has often been and is still being mistakenly taken as the independent variable upon which stratification position depends. Of course, there is a positive correlation between stratification position and wealth, but it is not a perfect correlation.

We could go on with this discussion ad infinitum: the stratification views and descriptive accounts of the philosophers and historians of the ancient world; the numerous accounts of Medieval feudalism and attempts to justify and rationalize the inequities of the system; the theoretical writings of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Mill, etc.--the tale would have no ending. But, although some

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[3]Aristotle, Politics, tr. by Benjamin Jowett (New York: The Modern Library, 1943), p. 190.

would have us believe that sociology begins with Plato or Aristotle, it cannot seriously be contended that a scientifically oriented study of society goes back much further than the nineteenth century, and this is true for the sociology of stratification. This is not in any way to belittle the important role of these earlier writings in the history of ideas--not only have they contributed to the further development of stratification thinking, but many of them provide the contemporary stratification sociologist with important data for his theory and research. As Mannheim has so appropriately written:

> Strictly speaking it is incorrect to say that the single individual thinks. Rather it is more correct to insist that he participates in thinking further what other men have thought before him. He finds himself in an inherited situation with patterns of thought which are appropriate to this situation and attempts to elaborate further the inherited modes of response or to substitute others for them in order to deal more adequately with the new challenges which have arisen out of the shifts and changes in his situation (italics mine).[4]

On the one hand, it would be unmitigated conceit to give modern man all the credit for the scientific,

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[4]Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia; An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge, tr. by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company; A Harvest Book, no date), p. 3 (First published: English edition in 1936; German edition in 1929).

intellectual and social achievements of modern times. But, on the other hand, it is false modesty to disparage modern achievements, and attempt to place all the credit on the forebears, as Sorokin so often does. Proper perspective is necessary. Without doubt, Einstein would never have been Einstein had not Plato, Aristotle, Copernicus, Kepler and Newton lived. But neither was it possible for any of Einstein's distant forebears to develop the theory of relativity: the history of ideas is a long and discontinuous one, but it is accumulative.[5] And the genius of Einstein, Marx, Max Weber or any contemporary scientist or scholar is not disparaged by this "existential" view of man.

Therefore, although the three examples quoted above have no direct bearing upon the history of the sociology of stratification which is under consideration here, they are included simply as three ancient examples of stratification ideas which are still extant today, lest we forget the long and important history of the awareness of and the expressed

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[5]For an elaboration of this view, see the excellent analysis of the "civilizational process" in Alfred Weber, Fundamentals of Culture-Sociology: Social Process, Civilizational Process and Culture-Movement, tr. by G. H. Weltner and C. F. Hirshman (New York: W.P.A. Project No. 465-97-3-81, Dept. of Social Science, Columbia University, 1939; mimeographed), pp. 14-15 and passim. (First published in 1920-21).

interest in the phenomenon of social stratification.

I. A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF STRATIFICATION

During the past two centuries the literature on social stratification has accumulated at an ever accelerating rate, so that it is impossible today to attempt a complete review of all the contributions to stratification theory and research in anything other than an encyclopedic work. Nor is it possible in this dissertation even to mention all the individuals who have contributed to the field. All that shall be attempted, therefore, in this section, is a brief summary of some of the more important early contributions, selected according to the following criteria: (a) those who have made important contributions to stratification theory; (b) the stratification views of those who have made important contributions to general sociological theory and have therefore influenced the stratification views of others; (c) writings which are available in English. Although it will be demonstrated that a large proportion of the major contributions to stratification theory have been produced in languages other than English, there are perhaps two justifications for the

last-named criterion. First, many of the most significant works have been translated into English, in whole or in part. Secondly, those which have not been translated have had little direct effect upon the development of stratification theory in this country, and certainly no effect upon the stratification research conducted during the past forty years. In the discussion which follows, there is, in the final analysis, a certain and necessary arbitrariness in the selection, for which I must take full responsibility. The omission of a particular writer, therefore, should not be interpreted to mean that his contributions to stratification theory are not significant.

Inspection of recent treatises on stratification theory published in this country reveals that little reference is ever made to the early writings, except, of course, to those of Marx, Veblen, and occasionally, Millar. It is for this reason that I shall in the following pages attempt a somewhat detailed account of the pioneer works in stratification theory. It will become apparent that, in the history of the sociology of stratification (as in any other science), along with the steady progression of sound scientific development there are countless pitfalls, dead-ends, and blind alleys into which many theorists have

stumbled and fallen. The reason for the inclusion of some of these "dead-end" theories will be explained later.

It is often the practice to present theories on any subject in groups according to so-called "schools." The classic example of this in sociology is Sorokin's Contemporary Sociological Theories.[6] Although this is an excellent work, which, if nothing else, teaches the student the practical and necessary art of critical evaluation, it has its faults in oversimplification and overcategorization. Once you have labeled Spencer as a member of the "bio-organismic school," for example, you may lose sight of the fact that he also belongs to the schools of evolutionism and structural-functionalism. Gumplowicz, who is usually called the leader of the "conflict school," is placed in the "sociologistic school" by Sorokin. Nevertheless, Gumplowicz's views on stratification are based partly on conflict, partly "ethnic superposition," and partly functional theory. I therefore hesitate to place stratification theorists (or theories) in schools, but prefer to describe them in their manifold and often diverse aspects. The one exception to this is the "classical tradition" of

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[6]Pitirim Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories (New York: Harper & Brothers, copyright 1928).

stratification theory which will be discussed in detail in Chapter II and which I do not think of as constituting a "school." The following discussion, therefore, will be presented in chronological order, so as to demonstrate the sequence of ideas as they developed. The dates which I have given for the various periods are more or less arbitrary, aimed at denoting the approximate boundaries of the different "eras" in the sociology of stratification, and should not be accorded too much significance in and of themselves.

It is always difficult to know exactly where to begin in discussing the development of any scientific field, but I believe it is safe to say that prior to 1767 there was no systematic presentation of what we can call a general theory in the area of social stratification. With the advent of the intellectual revolution of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, European society was in a ferment, with political and economic turmoil the generally recognized pattern of social behavior. As a result, the attention of serious thinkers was directed more and more toward the problem of social differentiation and stratification. We shall begin our review with a few of

the important presociological contributions concerning ranks, orders and classes in society.

1. Pre-Sociological Views on Ranks, Orders and Classes (1767-1830)

The beginnings of what Rudolf Heberle calls the "classical tradition of class theory"[7] appeared during the latter part of the eighteenth century with a group of Scottish social philosophers, Adam Ferguson, John Millar and Adam Smith. Although these writers did not develop what we could call a systematic sociological theory of stratification, they nevertheless laid the foundations for its later construction.

a. Adam Ferguson. In 1767, Adam Ferguson, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, recognized the development of classes in the growth of civil societies. Ferguson believed that there is very little disparity of rank among men in "rude" societies. But in the progress of mankind, changes of condition and of manners raise leaders and princes to power within nations, and there develops a nobility and a variety of ranks. According to

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[7]See Chapter II.

Ferguson, every "polished" state or nation is divided into a number of "orders" or "classes," such as the prince and his adherents, the nobility, the priesthood, the army, and the people or the populace. With the separation of the arts and the professions, different ranks develop among men on the basis of "the difference of natural talents and dispositions," "the unequal division of property," and "in the habits which are acquired by the practice of different arts."

Ferguson points out that if the fortune of nations were to be estimated by merely balancing articles of profit and loss, "the value of every person . . . should be computed from his labour; and that of labour itself, from its tendency to procure and amass the means of subsistence," thus anticipating Smith's and Marx's theory of Value. As a result, "the arts employed on mere superfluities should be prohibited." But Ferguson disagrees: "we are . . . obliged to suffer the wealthy to squander, that the poor may subsist; we are obliged to tolerate certain orders of men, who are above the necessity of labour, in order that, in their condition, there may be an object of ambition, and a rank to which the busy aspire," thus introducing the idea that rank or class differences may operate as a

motivation for effort toward personal advancement.[8]

b. John Millar. Four years later, in 1771, John Millar, Professor of Law at the University of Glasgow, published his first study on the origin of ranks in society. "In the most rude and barbarous ages," Millar writes, "there are no differences of rank." The only distinctions among individuals are "those which arise from their age and experience, from their strength, courage, and other personal accomplishments." The first rank difference which develops, as a result of division of labor in hunting and military societies, is that between husband and wife, in which the women are "usually treated as the servants or slaves of the men." In the same way, and depending "upon the same principles," the father exercises absolute jurisdiction and authority over his children. With the extension of social life from the family to the tribe or village, the rank of chief arises. With the conquest of other tribes, slavery is introduced. As society is extended, and people advance "in civilization and refinement,"

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[8]Adam Ferguson, An Essay on the History of Civil Society (Eighth edition; Philadelphia: A. Finley, 1819), pp. 169, 188, 230-31, 272-73, 331, 425-27 (First published in 1767. "Almost immediately translated into German"--W. C. Lehmann).

the system of sovereignty arises.

Although Millar does not present a unified description of the medieval estate system in Europe, he does make frequent references in his discussion of feudalism to the monarch or king, the barons and nobles, the vassals, the clergy, the "villains," the peasants, and the slaves. Throughout the book, Millar places particular emphasis upon the change in rank of women in the development of society, and to the progression of the father-chief-sovereign types of political authority (thus anticipating Sir Henry Sumner Maine). Of particular interest is his discussion of the change in rank of "servants," from slaves to peasants to "villains" (or "villagers"), and finally to freemen, competing equally in the economy of the nation.[9] Millar's theory that the peasant class developed out of slavery was subscribed to by many later writers, including Comte, but was rejected by others, including Spencer.

In later editions, Millar revised and expanded his theory. In the 1806 (posthumous) edition he writes:

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[9]John Millar, Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society (London: John Murray, 1771), pp. 2-3, 18, 79, 115, 153, 171, 195, 219, 225.

"There is, . . . in human society, a natural progress from ignorance to knowledge, and from rude to civilized manners, the several stages of which are usually accompanied with peculiar laws and customs." Various accidental causes, according to Millar, have helped to accelerate or retard this advancement in different countries, but "among the several circumstances which may affect the gradual improvements of society, the difference of climate is one of the most remarkable."

Millar explains the rise in the rank of women in society which results from the "refinement of the passions of sex." Under the conditions of poverty and barbarism in the rudest period of society, the state of mankind is extremely unfavorable to the improvement of these passions. But with the improvement in economic conditions, and the resulting refinement and ease in the manner of life, during the pastoral ages, and later with the introduction of agriculture, the improvement of useful arts and manufactures, and finally "great opulence and the culture of the elegant arts," the rank and condition of women steadily improves.

In the same way, according to Millar, the advancement of a people in "civilized manners" has a natural tendency to limit and restrain the absolute authority of a

father over his children which he enjoys in rude societies. In the European nations which have progressed furthest in commerce and manufacturing, the members of every family enjoy great liberty, as a rule, and the children "are no farther subjected to the father than seems necessary for their own advantage."

But in the case of the chief or monarch, Millar finds two opposite trends. On the one hand, the improvement of arts and manufactures and the influence of opulence tend to "enervate the minds of men," and to permit the sovereign to increase his power over his people, while, on the other hand, these same conditions tend to advance the freedom of the subjects by making them less dependent upon the sovereign. As the result of the opposition between these two principles, Millar sees the necessity of a conflict arising between the two parties: the sovereign and his army, and the people longing for independence, and "a variety of accidents may contribute to cast the balance upon either side."

With respect to servitude and slavery, Millar shows how the same processes in the rise of society from a rude condition to a state of refinement, lead first to the subjugation of some men to be servants and slaves of others,

and eventually to their emancipation and elevation to a position of equality along with other citizens.

In the revised edition Millar presents an excellent account of the origin and growth of the feudal system in Europe, and explains the so-called "incidents" of the feudal tenures, such as escheat, homage, fealty, relief and fine of alienation.

But the really significant aspect of Millar's work is that, underneath the main current with which he was primarily concerned, to explain the origin of ranks and the distribution of influence and authority in society, we find in the undercurrent of explanations and clarifications (sometimes obscured) that Millar anticipates Marx on practically every one of Marx's major points: (a) by locating the source of rank and condition, not only of women and children, but of subjects and servants (Marx: classes), as well as the source of property, and of dispositions and sentiments, manners and customs (Marx: social relations), and of systems of law and government (Marx: legal and political institutions), in the method of securing the means of subsistence (Marx: mode of production); (b) by explaining the changes in rank and condition, the refinement of tastes and manners, the increase in population,

the progress in law and government, and of the rise of the ownership of property and its monopoly by the privileged ranks, in the progress in the method of production: hunting, fishing and gathering--taming and pasturing cattle--agriculture--useful arts and manufactures--leading to a state of opulence and culture of elegant arts; (c) by showing how the recurring conflicts between opposing groups shift from extra-group conflict: between families --between tribes--between nations, to intra-societal conflict: between crown and nobles, between nobles, between sovereign and people (Marx: class conflicts); and finally, (d) by predicating the "expected" conflict between the two parties (rulers and subjects) which results from the conflicting principles of advanced society (Marx: the eventual class revolution).[10]

According to Donald MacRae,"Millar had produced, before the American Declaration of Independence, the first scientific analysis of stratification and the functions of

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[10]John Millar, The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks: or, An Inquiry into the Circumstances which give rise to Influence and Authority, in the Different Members of Society (Fourth edition of Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society; Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1806), pp. 2-8, 14, 57, 128, 137, 203-209, 222, 236, and passim.

rank to treat the subject separately, fully and sociologically."[11] This statement is not exactly correct. Actually Millar's work is a study of ranks or types of authority, and not of stratification (the difference will become apparent later on). But certainly Millar's analysis represents the earliest outstanding contribution to the development of stratification theory, and presents in somewhat primitive form many of the basic concepts which Marx later clarified and unified in his comprehensive theory of class and of history.

c. Adam Smith. The first systematic presentation of the "classical" theory of social classes, appearing in 1776, was actually incidental to an economic treatise on the source of income of the three classes: wages, profit and rent, rather than an analysis of the three classes, themselves. Nevertheless, Adam Smith, former Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow, laid much of the groundwork for later studies of social classes, especially those of Marx and Max Weber.

It is important for our discussion to note the

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[11]Donald G. MacRae, "Social Stratification; A trend report and bibliography," Current Sociology, II:I (1953-54), 9.

relationship between the labor theory of value and the economic theory of class. According to Smith, the real measure of the exchangeable value of any commodity is the labor which must be expended to procure it, or, if a person has it and wants to exchange it for something else, its value is equal to the labor it will save him or purchase for him.

Adam Smith explains the development of social classes as follows: "In that early and rude state of society which precedes both the accumulation of stock and the appropriation of land . . . the whole produce of labour belongs to the labourer; and the quantity of labour commonly employed in acquiring or producing any commodity, is the only circumstance which can regulate the quantity of labour which it ought commonly to purchase, command, or exchange for." But, "as soon as stock has accumulated in the hands of particular persons, some of them will naturally employ it in setting to work industrious people, whom they will supply with materials and subsistence, in order to make a profit by the sale of their work, or by what their labour adds to the value of the materials." And, finally, "as soon as the land of any country has all become private property, the landlords, like all other men, love to reap

where they never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural produce." In the end, Smith concludes, there develop three distinct orders of society.

> The whole annual produce of the land and labour of every country, or what comes to the same thing, the whole price of that annual produce, naturally divides itself, it has already been observed, into three parts; the rent of land, the wages of labour, and the profits of stock; and constitutes a revenue to three different orders of people; to those who live by rent, to those who live by wages, and to those who live by profit. These are the three great, original and constituent orders of every civilized society, from whose revenue that of every other order is ultimately derived (italics mine).

Marx and later "classical" theorists expanded this three-class classification, based upon source of income.[12]

Adam Smith believed that the interests of the first two orders, those who live by rent and those who live by wages, are both "strictly and inseparably connected with the general interest of the society. Whatever either promotes or obstructs the one, necessarily promotes or obstructs the other." But the interest of the third order, those who live by profit, does not have "the same connexion with the general interest of the society as that of the other two; . . . the rate of profit does not, like rent and wages, rise with the prosperity, and fall with the

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[12]See Chapter II.

declension, of the society. On the contrary, it is naturally low in rich, and high in poor countries, and it is always highest in the countries which are going fastest to ruin." According to Smith, this third order of men "have generally an interest to deceive and even to oppress the public, and . . . accordingly have, upon many occasions, both deceived and oppressed it."[13] This conclusion of Smith's that the interest of those who live by profit is more apt to conflict with the general interest of society than is that of the other two classes was later developed by Max Weber, who indicated that class conflicts are more apt to arise between the laborers and the "acquisition classes" than with the "property classes."[14]

d. Class interest in early American politics. To the Founding Fathers of our Nation, the problem of controlling the violence of factions seemed very real, and the solution appeared to lie only in the construction of a

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[13]Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of The Wealth of Nations, ed. by Edwin Cannan (Fifth edition; New York: The Modern Library, 1937), pp. 11, 13, 28, 30, 47-49, 248-50 (First published in 1776. Translated into German and published in 1776-1778). (See Chapter II for a critique of Smith).

[14]See Chapter II.

sound republic. The theory of social classes developed by Adam Smith apparently influenced at least one of the early leaders in American political life. In the words of James Madison, writing in 1787:

> . . . the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation, and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government (italics mine).[15]

e. David Ricardo. The British economist, David Ricardo, in 1817, follows the three-fold classification of income developed by Adam Smith, but introduces the terminology later used by Marx: "the three classes of landlords, capitalists, and labourers."[16]

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[15]James Madison, "The Federalist No. 10," The Federalist; A Commentary on the Constitution of the United States (New York: The Modern Library, n.d.), p. 56 (First published in 1787).

[16]David Ricardo, On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation (Collation of First, Second and Third

f. Henri Comte de Saint-Simon. Although Saint-Simon did not write a theory of stratification, he deserves brief recognition for two reasons. First, because he made the comparison of societal stratification to a pyramid (1825), an analogy which was not followed by later writers but which is very much in vogue today. And secondly, because of the not inconsiderable influence his writings had on the thinking of Karl Marx.

Saint-Simon believed that "so long as the majority of individuals remained in a state of ignorance and improvidence which rendered them incapable of administering their own affairs . . . it was necessary for the minority to be organized on military lines, to obtain a monopoly of legislation, and so to keep all power to itself. . . ." But he felt that those conditions no longer held, and that the majority of the people in his day were capable of administering property, either land or money, and of taking part in political affairs. Saint-Simon believed that the scientists, artists, and leaders of industrial enterprises should be entrusted with administrative power, and that

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editions), Vol. I, The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo, ed. by Piero Sraffa (Cambridge: University Press, 1951), p. 49 (First published in 1817).

governmental functions should be limited to maintaining public order.

Regarding the organization of society, Saint-Simon wrote:

> The community has often been compared to a pyramid. I admit that the nation should be composed as a pyramid; I am profoundly convinced that the national pyramid should be crowned by the monarchy, but I assert that from the base of the pyramid to its summit the layers should be composed of more and more precious materials. If we consider the present pyramid, it appears that the base is made of granite, that up to a certain height the layers are composed of valuable materials, but that the upper part, supporting a magnificent diamond, is composed of nothing but plaster and gilt.
>
> The base of the present national pyramid consists of workers in their routine occupations; the first layers above this base are the leaders of industrial enterprises, the scientists who improve the methods of manufacture and widen their application, the artists who give the stamp of good taste to all their products. The upper layers, which I assert to be composed of nothing but plaster, which is easily recognizable despite the gilding, are the courtiers, the mass of nobles whether of ancient or recent creation, the idle rich, the governing class from the prime minister to the humblest clerk. The monarchy [sic] is the magnificent diamond which crowns the pyramid.[17]

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[17]Henri Comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825); Selected Writings, ed. and tr. by F. M. H. Markham (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952), "On Social Organization," pp. 76-80 (First published in 1825).

The comparison of society to a pyramid, a practice fostered by Saint-Simon and quite popular in recent years, is perhaps sometimes useful as a general descriptive device, but is both useless and dangerous if considered as a methodological tool for stratification research, for the following reasons. First, it implies unidimensionality of stratification ranking, from the top to the bottom of the pyramid. Secondly, it assumes a uniformly increasing gradation in size of the various strata from top to bottom. Thirdly, it makes a false representation of society as a symetrically differentiated totality. Fourthly, it is a dangerous device because it is apt to blind the researcher who is using it from discovering the real stratified groups in society in his attempt to fit the stratification system into some standard geometrical pattern.

Saint-Simon was greatly overshadowed by his pupil and disciple, Comte, but it is interesting to note that Marx was very much influenced by the former and not at all by the latter. In fact, the only reference to Comte which I have found in Marx's writings was one letter in which Marx said he had been reading Comte in order to find out what it was about Comte's writings which so interested some people.

2. Early Sociological Contributions to Stratification Theory (1830-1896)

a. Auguste Comte, whose Cours de philosophie positive was first published between 1830-1842, is generally recognized (with some dissention) as the founder of sociology as a separate scientific discipline; in any case, Comte synthesized and organized the diverse social doctrines of his day which were all leading toward the development of a new science of society; he gave sociology its name; he set the direction for the development of the discipline for many decades to come, and his influence is still being felt today.

Although Comte made no systematic investigation into the subject of social classes, he was well aware of the problem of class conflicts in his day. For Comte wrote: "As it is the inevitable lot of the majority of men to live on the more or less precarious fruits of daily labour, the great social problem is to ameliorate the condition of this majority, without destroying its classification, and disturbing the general economy." Comte believed the only solution was to be found in the "positive polity," which would bring about a "mental reorganization," which "by habitually interposing a common moral authority between

the working classes and the leaders of society, will offer the only regular basis of a pacific and equitable reconciliation of their chief conflicts, nearly abandoned in the present day to the savage discipline of a purely material antagonism."

A major point in Comte's theory of social evolution and the development of the Positivist society is the role played by what he calls the "speculative" and the "practical classes." According to Comte the evolution of mankind is simply the evolution of the human mind transferred into the realm of social development. Every reflecting individual in the process of his mental development passes through the three stages of theological, metaphysical and positive thinking. Society also goes through these three stages of development, although Comte points out that all three states may and do exist within the same mind, or the same society, at the same time. It is the role of the speculative classes to provide the intellectual leadership in each period of societal development, and, which is more important, it is the transition in thinking from theological to metaphysical to positive on the part of the speculative classes which makes possible the evolution of society.

In the polytheistic stage of the Theological-Military

period of history, according to Comte, the speculative class consisted of a powerful sacerdotal class which, being the depository of all knowledge, was able to hold absolute rule over society. This developed into a "Caste" system, with the priestly caste in complete power, and "the lowest and most numerous caste" in a state of "collective servitude." With the development of monotheism and the Christian theology, there was a separation between spiritual and temporal power; the Catholic hierarchy constituted the speculative class, while the nobility and peasantry formed the practical classes. According to Comte, the feudal system was "the cradle of modern society," since it "set society forward towards the great aim of the whole European polity,--the gradual transformation of the military into the industrial life."

During the Metaphysical-Critical period, characterized by the decline of spiritual and political power, and political and intellectual revolutions, the intellectual leadership was provided by the philosophers or metaphysicians, with their philosophy of individualism.

In the future Positive-Industrial state, which Comte viewed as the solution to all social problems, the highest rank in society will be held by the speculative class, which

will be scientifically rather than theologically oriented. The speculative class will be "superior in dignity," the practical class will be "superior in express and immediate power." According to Comte, this division answers the two opposite ways of classifying men--according to capacity and power. This same principle determines the subdivisions of each class. The speculative class is divided into the scientific or philosophical (which are ultimately one) and the aesthetic or poetic. The subdivision of the active or practical classes, which account for the vast majority of the people, has already been determined by "spontaneous usage," according to Comte.

> Industrial action is divided into production and transmission of products; the second of which is obviously superior to the first in regard to the abstractness of the work and the generality of the relations. Further division seems to be indicated according as production relates to the mere formation of materials or their working up; and as the transmission is of the products themselves, or of their representative signs, the generality being greater in the second particulars than in the first. Thus we find the industrial hierarchy formed, the bankers being in the first rank; then the merchants; then the manufacturers; and finally the agriculturists; the labours of the latter being more concrete, and their relations more special, than those of the other three classes. It would be out of place to proceed here to further subdivisions. They will be determined by the same principle when the progress of reorganization is sufficiently advanced; and I may observe that when that time comes the most concrete

> producers, the labourers, whose collisions with their employers are now the most dangerous feature of our industrial state, will be convinced that the position of the capitalist is owing, not to any abuse of strength or wealth, but to the more abstract and general character of his function. The action and responsibility of the operative are less extensive than those of the employer; and the subordination of the one to the other is therefore as little arbitrary and mutable as any other social gradation.

Once the social gradation has been established in the positive state, according to Comte, it will be preserved "by the clearness of its principle," as well as by the consciousness of each order that its own subordination to those above is the condition of its superiority to those below, and the lowest rank will recognize its own special privileges. "The abuses attending all inequality will be restrained, not only by the fundamental education common to all, but by the more extended and severe moral obligations which press upon members of society, in proportion to the generality of their functions." Finally, Comte foresees that a recognition of the differences among the various classes in responsibility and function will provide a guarantee of social harmony and personal happiness for all.[18]

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[18]Auguste Comte, The Positive Philosophy, tr. and condensed by Harriet Martineau (London: John Chapman,

Comte's vision of the high position of the philosopher in the positive state is a recurrent theme in the history of ideas, and goes all the way back to Plato, who saw the only escape from the evils of society in the rule of the perfected philosophers, when "philosophers are kings."[19] But Comte made a distinction between rank and power. Philosophers will hold the highest rank in society, but they will be superior in dignity, whereas the practical or active elite will be superior in express and immediate power. And Comte's philosophers are scientists, in the modern sense of the term. The closest approximation in an actual existing social system to Comte's positive state is the Marxist Socialist system, in which the intelligentsia are given a high place in rank, in power, and in esteem, but the one discrepancy is that in actual operation the political elite are not only superior in power, but they are superior in rank as well.

Comte's subdivision of the practical (or active) classes according to whether they are engaged in the

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1853), Vol. II, pp. 48, 156-173, 237, 261-84, 481-83 (First published between 1830-1842).

[19]Plato, The Republic, tr. by Benjamin Jowett (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1946), pp. 198-245.

production or the transmission of products, the former involving more concrete work and more special relations, and the latter, more abstract work and more general relations, is completely in accord with the bases for the differentiation by the Lynds' of the people of "Middletown" into the "Working Class" and the "Business Class," in 1929.[20] It is also in agreement with Richard Centers' description in 1949 of his Occupational Index as forming "a hierarchy in terms of skill, responsibility and complexity of the occupational function or role in the total economy of production and exchange of goods and services."[21]

b. Karl Marx may be credited, more than any other single individual, for stimulating interest in the phenomenon of social stratification, for building the framework

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[20]The Lynds characterize the Working Class and the Business Class, respectively, as: "people who address their activities to things and people who address their activities to persons; those who work with their hands and those who work with their tongues; those who make things and those who sell or promote things and ideas; those who use material tools and those who use various non-material institutional devices." Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, Middletown; A Study in American Culture (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), p. 22.

[21]Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes; A Study of Class Consciousness (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 48.

for later development of the "classical tradition of class theory," and for giving stratification theory the problem-orientation which it has held right down to the present day. Marx's best-known work, The Communist Manifesto, published in 1848, is probably his most important from the standpoint not only of the influence it has had on the social and political thinking of millions of persons, but also from its influence on the class views of later writers. The ever-present class conflict which Marx describes became the theme for many later sociologists, to the extent that we find in a number of sociology textbooks the only reference to social classes is a paragraph or a chapter on "class conflict."

But in Marx's many other and more scholarly works he made more objective reference to classes and estates in different societies. And in his most important technical work, Das Kapital, most of which was published after his death in 1883, Marx began the development of a class theory along the lines laid out by Smith and Ricardo, of the landlords, the capitalists and the laborers, according to their source of income from rent, profit and wages.[22]

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[22]See Chapter II for a more detailed account of Marx's writings, and for references.

c. Sir Henry Sumner Maine. In 1861 appeared a treatise on Ancient Law, which not only contributed to the development of social thought but also has its implications for stratification theory. Sir Henry Sumner Maine, Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford, suggests that "the movement of the progressive societies has hitherto been a movement from Status to Contract." According to Maine, the patriarchal family is the basic unit of primitive society, and every person receives his status and his authority from the family. With the development of society, aggregations of families form the gens or house; then the tribe develops, and finally the commonwealth is formed. Throughout this process, there is a gradual dissolution of family dependency and a growth of individual obligation, accompanied by a shift from family law to civil law; at the same time human relations change from formal status derived from the family to contract formed voluntarily by the individual.[23] This distinction is useful for characterizing the difference in relations within a caste or an estate system as

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[23]Sir Henry Sumner Maine, Ancient Law; Its Connection with the Early History of Society and its Relation to Modern Ideas (Tenth edition; London: John Murray, 1901), pp. 122-70 (First published in 1861).

opposed to a modern class system; for example, medieval estates are often referred to as "status groups."

d. Herbert Spencer. Like his predecessor Comte (from whom he avowed complete independence of thought), Herbert Spencer attempted to compile a unified system of all the sciences, culminating in sociology, the last and the highest in the hierarchy. Also like Comte, Spencer explained the growth of society in terms of evolution. But, unlike Comte, Spencer was a staunch defender of individualism.

As was the case with Comte, Spencer failed to make a systematic analysis of stratification systems, although he engaged in numerous discussions pertaining to ranks and classes. Throughout his sociological writings, Spencer makes repeated references to concepts which are well-known today: "upper classes," "middle classes," and "lower classes"; "land-owning class" or "landed class," "capitalists," and "working-classes" or "labouring classes." But he also refers to the "ruling and employing classes"; the "regulating" (or "regulative"), and the "regulated classes"; the "dominant classes" and "subject classes"; the "artizan-class"; the "wealthier classes," and "the masses." It is

evident, therefore, that Spencer does not have a clearly thought-out class theory.

In his Study of Sociology (1873), Spencer devotes one chapter to the subject of "The Class-Bias" as an obstacle to the development of a social science. According to Spencer, "The class-bias, like the bias of patriotism, is a reflex egoism; and like it has its uses and abuses. . . . The egoism of individuals leads to an egoism of the class they form; and besides the separate efforts, generates a joint effort to get an undue share of the aggregate proceeds of social activity. The aggressive tendency of each class, thus produced, has to be balanced by like aggressive tendencies of other classes. . . . Large classes of the community marked-off by rank, and subclasses marked-off by special occupations, severally combine, and severally set up organs advocating their interests: the reason assigned being in all cases the same--the need for self-defence" (italics mine). Spencer concludes his discussion by deciding that "Unfortunately for the Social Science, the class-bias, like the bias of patriotism, is, in a degree, needful for social preservation." Spencer believes that the "obstacle to well-balanced conclusions" resulting from the class-bias "can become less only as social evolution

becomes greater."[24]

Discussions of ranks, strata and classes are found scattered throughout Spencer's larger work, The Principles of Sociology (1876-1896). In his evolutionary approach, Spencer makes an analogy between society and living organisms. "In societies, as in living bodies, increase of mass is habitually accompanied by increase of structure. Along with that integration which is the primary trait of evolution, both exhibit in high degrees the secondary trait, differentiation." The first social differentiation, which arises when ungoverned "headless clusters" of people approach or exceed a hundred in size, is that between the ruler(s) and the ruled, when one or more persons claim the right of authority over the others. The next differentiation is between regulative and operative parts. The first step is a contrast in "status" between the sexes, in which the men are in command and the women "are made drudges." The second step is the taking of slaves in battle. With increasing mass there develops a greater complexity of structure, with differentiation among the rulers into king,

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[24]Herbert Spencer, The Study of Sociology (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1910), pp. 219-38 (First published in 1873).

local rulers and petty chiefs. Then "there arise more marked divisions of classes--military, priestly, slave, etc."

According to Spencer, in small tribes there are "two strata": the "dominant class" and the "subject class," or slaves. But where aggregations of tribes are formed, higher and lower strata begin to differentiate internally. Among African Negroes, for example, Spencer finds that differentiation results in the king with his relatives, a class of chiefs, the common people, and the slaves. So far as I have been able to determine, Spencer is the first person to use the term "stratum" (or "strata") in referring to social rankings, but Spencer does not use the term "stratification."[25]

In the second volume of this massive work, Spencer discusses in considerable detail the development of Political Institutions. According to Spencer, "Class-distinctions . . . date back to the beginnings of social life." During the earliest stages of conquest, an identity is established between the "militant class" and the "land-owning class,"

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[25]Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Sociology, Vol. I (Third edition; London: Williams and Norgate, 1893), pp. 459-61, 481 (First published in 1876).

in that the victorious warriors become land-owners or proprietors of the land they conquer. Eventually, because of the development of inequalities of wealth and power, the militant class divides itself into nobles and freemen. Spencer disagrees with the proposition of Millar and Comte that the peasant class developed out of slavery. Spencer writes: "It is commonly supposed that serfdom arises by mitigation of slavery; but examination of the facts shows that it arises in a different way." According to Spencer, slavery appears during the early struggle for existence among primitive tribes, whereas serfdom--a "servile class" considerably higher than the slaves, originates along with conquest and annexation of one society by another at a later period in the process of societal growth.

Once class differences are formed, they tend to become permanent. Spencer writes: "Unlikenesses of status once initiated, lead to unlikenesses of life, which, by the constitutional changes they work, presently make the unlikenesses of status more difficult to alter." Contemporary writers refer to "style of life," and "life chances," which describe the same process. Spencer continues: "First there comes difference of diet and its effects. . . . When there arise class-divisions, there habitually results

better nutrition of the superior than of the inferior." (This idea was later expanded by Lester F. Ward.)

Class differences then become hereditary, according to Spencer.

> The maintenance of those class-divisions which arise as political organization advances, implies the inheritance of a rank and a place in each class. The like happens with those sub-divisions of classes which, in some societies, constitute castes, and in other societies are exemplified by incorporated trades. Where custom or law compels the sons of each worker to follow their father's occupation, there result among the industrial structures obstacles to change analogous to those which result in the regulative structures from impassable divisions of ranks. India shows this in an extreme degree; and in a less degree it was shown by the craft-guilds of early days in England, which facilitated adoption of a craft by the children of those engaged in it, and hindered adoption of it by others. Thus we may call inheritance of position and function, the principle of fixity in social organization.

Spencer describes life in medieval Europe, when militancy was high and industrialism undeveloped, and society was differentiated into the kings, dukes, vassals, serfs and slaves, along with the "ecclesiastical hierarchy."[26]

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[26]Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Sociology, Vol. II (Second edition; New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1910), pp. 258, 293-310, 618-28 (First published between 1879-1882).

In Volume III, Spencer makes a contribution to the development of general concepts in sociology. He writes: "Current talk and popular writing have the implication that the feudal system . . . was a peculiar form of social organization. The tacit belief is that it belonged to a certain phase of European progress. But among unallied nations, in far-apart places, we find types of structure similar in their essential natures." One of the main purposes of this dissertation is to try and develop general models of stratification systems, in contrast to the usual practice of describing specific systems, for example, by restricting the concepts of caste for India and estates for medieval Europe.

Borrowing from Maine, Spencer describes how the members of society moved from a union joined under status to a system in which all relations are guided by contract. Serfs lost their status under the feudal system and became free laborers, bound only by contract to their employers. With the increase in industrialism and the growth of capital, laborers put their interests into the hands of trade-unions, and conflicts with the employers arose. Angry at the practices of the millers and bakers, at the turn of the nineteenth century, the working men organized mills and bakeries

in England and Scotland. In 1844 the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society was founded in England. Thus began the cooperative movement, which gained wide support from both the working-classes and the middle-classes.

Spencer concludes his work with a philosophical note: "The ultimate man will be one whose private requirements coincide with public ones. He will be that manner of man who, in spontaneously fulfilling his own nature, incidentally performs the functions of a social unit; and yet is only enabled so to fulfill his own nature by all others doing the like."[27]

e. A classic example of the unproductive works in stratification theory. In 1883 William Graham Sumner published a little book entitled, What Social Classes Owe to Each Other. This book was written with the avowed purpose of answering some of the critics of the existing class relations in the United States. The book is mainly a vindication of the status quo, and does not contain much of significance to the development of stratification theory.

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[27]Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Sociology, Vol. III (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1910), pp. 479-512, 535-74, 611 (First published in 1896).

Of this book Donald MacRae writes: "Probably no sociologist of any distinction has produced a less helpful study than Sumner"![28]

But there are a few statements worth examining in connection with our chronological review of the growth of stratification theory. Sumner writes: "It is commonly asserted that there are in the United States no classes, and any allusion to classes is resented. On the other hand, we constantly read and hear discussions of social topics in which the existence of social classes is assumed as a simple fact." This sounds as though it might have been written yesterday instead of eighty years ago, which illustrates how little certain attitudes have changed in this country during the past century.

At the end of the book, Sumner summarizes his views toward social classes. If there is any meaning in the words, "wise and foolish, thrifty and extravagant, prudent and negligent," then the way in which people behave must make some difference, "and the difference will appear in the position they acquire in the body of society, and in relation to the chances of life." People may then be classified

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[28]MacRae, op. cit., p. 11.

with reference to these facts. "Such classes always will exist; no other social distinctions can endure. If, then, we look to the origin and definition of these classes, we shall find it impossible to deduce any obligations which one of them bears to the other. The class distinctions simply result from the different degrees of success with which men have availed themselves of the chances which were presented to them. Instead of endeavoring to redistribute the acquisitions which have been made between the existing classes, our aim should be to increase, multiply, and extend the chances. Such is the work of civilization."[29]

f. Ludwig Gumplowicz. In 1885 there appeared a work in German which had considerable influence on early American sociology, but which is largely ignored today. Ludwig Gumplowicz, in his Grundriss der Sociologie, wrote what remains to this day a classic in the science of society.

According to Harry Elmer Barnes, Gumplowicz was "the leader of the so-called 'conflict school'" in sociology.[30]

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[29]William Graham Sumner, What Social Classes Owe to Each Other (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1884), pp. 13, 167-68 (First published in 1883).

[30]Harry Elmer Barnes, "The Social Philosophy of Ludwig Gumplowicz; The Struggles of Races and Social Groups," in Barnes (ed), An Introduction to the History of Sociology

The main theme of his "group-conflict" theory was developed in an earlier work, Der Rassenkampf (1883), and elaborated and systematized in the Grundriss. In the latter, Gumplowicz writes: "The struggle between social groups, the component parts of the state, is as inexorable as that between hordes or states. The only motive is self-interest." Be that as it may, his discussion of social classes emphasizes functional necessity and cooperation, and has contributed much to the development of stratification theory.

Barnes calls Gumplowicz "an ardent supporter of the Marxian doctrine of the economic interpretation of history."[31] This is evident in the statement that "social progress is always produced by economic causes. Indeed it cannot be otherwise since man's material need is the prime motive of his conduct." However, Gumplowicz recognizes the bond uniting economic and political power in the formation and flux of classes. "Economic development and historical facts create a multitude of classes equally endowed with political tendencies and the result is a complexity of political rights."

(Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 191.

[31] Ibid., p. 205.

Gumplowicz develops a theory of classes which is based partly upon conflict, partly "ethnic superposition," and partly functional theory. He writes: "The classes differ only in their functions; the equivalents received by all can be reduced to the same terms: a greater or less sum of human services rendered in kind or in goods or in the grant of privileges, rights and 'royalties.'" He points out that "there would be no rulers if there were no servants; no priests if there were no believers; no traders if they could find no buyers." Here Gumplowicz introduces a law of social behavior. "The phenomenon of class-building can be referred to a universal law: each want produces its own means of satisfaction. In so far as a class is able to satisfy a social want it first is indispensable, and, secondly, receives an equivalent which can be expressed in terms of human services, the instrument of power. But in exercising its acquired power it participates in government."

Gumplowicz distinguishes two different types of classes, with different origins: the first from "the union of different ethnological elements," and the second "by a process of differentiation." The first type includes the ruling, the peasant and the merchant classes, which

antedate the state, and are easily maintained "because their differences are both anthropological and moral." The process of differentiation after the state is formed results in the priesthood, large industry as contrasted with small, scholars, jurists, officials, etc.

According to Gumplowicz, the simplest political organization consists of lords and vassals. This primitive system receives its "first fatal shock" from the foreign merchants who come "bringing things which tend to effeminate," but which also lead to the growth of "civilization" and "culture." Occasional visits by the merchants are followed by permanent settlement, and a new middle class "forces itself in between lords and vassals." This new class is personally free and has no direct share in government.

The original rulers maintain their power partly by physical and mental superiority, and by strict military organization and discipline, but most importantly by "habit," which is not only "natural" but is "the most powerful moral means" of maintaining a system once established. "But the power of the new middle class is built up differently," and here Gumplowicz introduces an important stratification principle. The power of the middle class "starts from the

possession of material goods and the more necessary they are the greater is the equivalent offered for the surrender of them whether in labor, services and goods or in the right to demand services. In any case the equivalent can be reduced to terms of human labor; and so the middle class also acquires political power." He adds, "By labor, industry, inventiveness, speculation and thrift it can even attain to the balance of power in the state." Gumplowicz emphasizes the fact that the possession of material goods can become a source of power only in the state, since "where club-law and anarchy prevailed they would fall to the physically superior." But "within the state . . . the purely economic power . . . has secured recognition and has its part in sovereignty."

New human wants create "new professional classes and castes," according to Gumplowicz. "Human temperament, worried by the riddle of its own existence, peremptorily demands pacification," which is found in religious ideas, and which leads to the creation of "a priestly caste inspired with the desire to sustain and increase its power."

All the above classes develop in order to meet what Gumplowicz calls the "primary" wants of man: "material

and intellectual (moral) wants" which "are rooted and grounded in human nature." But civilization keeps on developing other wants, which may be called secondary, which lead to further class differentiation. Out of the priestly class (which also includes the medicine-man) develops the medical profession; out of the necessity for legal assistance, the law profession; out of the need for a state administrative department, the official class; out of the ruling class, a military class; and the trading and industrial class has been subdivided into those connected with large and small industries, into capitalists, "undertaking classes" and laboring class, etc.

Gumplowicz points out the importance of "the social circles" in "the social struggle." He believes that "the masses always lack unity and organization as the result partly of their great bulk, partly of indolence. Since the result of the social struggle depends on discipline the minority has the advantage because it is small."

Gumplowicz then develops an important hypothesis. "The power of a social group increases with the number of common interests among its members irrespective of its size. . . . The number of common interests necessarily varies inversely with the number of individuals in the

social group. . . . Prosperity is the natural lot of the minority; with improved conditions the number of interests increases; with these the intensity of social cohesion; and this gives more social power." Gumplowicz believes that "In the final analysis the intensity of the union depends upon the personal character of the individuals. But," and this is important, "as their mutual intercourse is made easier by custom, and as good customs grow with common welfare and culture the union is strengthened too." I think it could be argued, historically, that "bad" customs also develop under these conditions.

It is only in times of revolution when everything depends upon numerical strength that the small groups find themselves at a disadvantage. But, according to Gumplowicz, the "normal conditions of political organization . . . must be considered the normal condition of civilized man."[32]

g. Ferdinand Toennies. In 1887, Ferdinand Toennies, the recognized dean of German sociology, published, at the age of thirty-two, the first edition of his great work,

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[32]Ludwig Gumplowicz, The Outlines of Sociology, tr. by Frederick W. Moore (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1899), pp. 123, 127-36, 143-45 (First published in 1885).

Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. This book contains the essence of Toennies' thinking, which is reflected in seven later editions, as well as in his many other writings. To Toennies, the concepts, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft represent two different ideal types of social texture, as Heberle explains it, or two different types of condition of social life, according to Jacoby,[33] and not two types of society or social structure, for example, community and society (as these terms are usually used today), or country and town, as is sometimes erroneously supposed. Both conditions may be found within a group or a society at any one time, or a group or society may be predominantly based upon, or conditioned by, one rather than the other. But, as Toennies writes, "the essence of both Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft is found interwoven in all kinds of associations."

To Toennies, social relationships are willed relationships. Thus Gemeinschaft refers to an association which is predominantly based upon "natural will" (Wesenwille), which is "the psychological equivalent of the human body"; it is

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[33]E. G. Jacoby, "Ferdinand Toennies, Sociologist; A Centennial Tribute," Kyklos, VIII (1955), 144-61.

the "will which includes the thinking," which is based upon "not only what (one) has learned but also the inherited mode of thought and perception of the forefathers (influencing) his sentiment, his mind and heart, his conscience." Gesellschaft, on the other hand, is an association which is formed and fundamentally conditioned by "rational will" (Kuerwille), which is "the thinking which encompasses the will"; it is "a product of thinking itself and consequently possesses reality only with reference to its author": in the rational will "thinking has gained predominance and come to be the directing agent."

Estates and classes are, to Toennies, two types of social collectives. Thus it follows that estates are "communal" (Gemeinschaft type) collectives and classes are "societal" (Gesellschaft type) collectives. Estates are "organic," whereas classes are contractual, or "mechanical."[34]

Since Toennies' insights did not produce their great impact on sociological thinking until much later (in fact,

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[34]Ferdinand Toennies, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft), tr. and supplemented by Charles P. Loomis (Eighth edition; New York: American Book Company, 1940), pp. 15-18, 119 (First published in 1887).

the major significance of Toennies' writings has not been recognized in the United States until the past two or three decades), and since he did not write his final definitive essay on estates and classes until 1931, I shall reserve a detailed discussion of his stratification theory for Chapter II.

h. Emile Durkheim. The great French sociologist, Emile Durkheim, was not very much concerned with stratification. In fact, MacRae points out that social classes were, on the whole, neglected by French sociology, although, and here is the enigma, no society could have manifested the importance of class more clearly than did the France of the Third Republic.[35] But in his most important work, De la division du travail social (1893), Durkheim did relate the development of classes to the division of labor.

According to Durkheim, "The institution of classes and of castes constitutes an organization of the division of labor, and it is a strictly regulated organization, although it often is a source of dissension." Civil wars arise because the lower classes are not, or are no longer satisfied with the role forced upon them by custom or by law and

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[35]MacRae, op. cit., p. 11.

aspire to functions which are closed to them. Durkheim believes that it is not sufficient that each man have his task in order for the division of labor to produce solidarity, but his task must be fitting to him.

Durkheim feels that whenever the institution of classes or castes produces anxiety and pain instead of solidarity, the reason for this is because "the distribution of social functions on which it rests does not respond, or rather no longer responds, to the distribution of natural talents." Durkheim rejects the claim that it is solely the "spirit of imitation" which causes lower classes to aspire for higher places in the class structure. It is more likely the lessening or disappearance of differences which originally separated the classes: some individuals have become capable of functions formerly beyond them, whereas others have lost their original superiority. As a result, only "constraint" ties men to their functions, and "only an imperfect and troubled solidarity is possible."[36]

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[36]Emile Durkheim, On the Division of Labor in Society, tr. by George Simpson (Second edition; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), pp. 374-76 (First published in 1893).

i. Gaetano Mosca. In 1896 an Italian political scientist, Gaetano Mosca, published the first edition of Elementi di scienza politica which stands out to this day as one of the most significant works in the sociology of stratification, and certainly the first major treatise on "the ruling class" in society. Influenced by Hippolyte Taine's Ancien régime (1875), which analyzed the French ruling class in terms of the crown, the clergy and the nobility, seeking to discover the origin of the French Revolution in the decadence and loss of leadership capabilities of those groups,[37] Mosca thought that any society might be analyzed in the same way. In 1923 Mosca published an enlarged version of his work, adding one chapter on the history of the theory of the ruling class, in which he gave credit to Saint-Simon as having presented the first clear formulation of the theory.

Mosca starts out with the proposition that in all societies--from those that are very slightly developed to the most advanced and powerful, there appear two classes of people: "a class that rules and a class that is ruled."

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[37]Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, The Ancient Régime, tr. by John Durand (Revised edition; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1881: French edition first published in 1875).

The first class is always the smaller in size and performs all the political functions, monopolizes power, and receives the advantages which accompany power. The second class, always the larger, "is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent, and supplies the first, in appearance at least, with material means of subsistence and with the instrumentalities that are essential to the vitality of the political organism."

Mosca finds that in every society there is one individual (in special cases, two or three) who is chief among the leaders of the ruling class. In any type of political organization, pressures arise from the unrest of the masses, who are swayed by passions, which exert some influence on the policies of the ruling class. But the chief of the state would be unable to govern without the support of a large class to maintain respect and obedience for his orders.

Mosca asserts that, for purposes of scientific research, "the real superiority of the concept of the ruling, or political, class lies in the fact that the varying structure of ruling classes has a preponderant importance in determining the political type, and also the level of

civilization, of the different peoples" (italics mine).

In primitive societies in the early stages of organization, according to Mosca, war is a constant force and military valor most readily qualifies one for a position within the ruling class. With an advance in civilization war is the exception, and the dominance of a warrior class over a peaceful society is the result of conquest of an unwarlike group by a militant one. Wherever we find ruling warrior classes, they have obtained almost exclusive ownership of the land, the chief source of production and wealth in undeveloped countries. With the growth in population which accompanies the progress of civilization, revenue from land (rent) increases proportionately. In time, wealth instead of military valor becomes the characteristic of the dominant class: "the people who rule are the rich rather than the brave." As a result, "wealth produces political power" just as previously "political power has been producing wealth."

Mosca concedes that there are exceptions. There are states which have reached a high level of civilization and are organized "in theory" on the basis of moral principles which prevent the excessive influence of wealth. He gives the United States as an example, with its universal suffrage

and popular elections. But even in the United States there is nothing to prevent a rich man from having more influence than a poor man, since he can apply pressure upon the politicians. There is nothing to prevent the elections "from being carried on to the music of clinking dollars," or entire legislatures and large numbers of national congressmen "from feeling the influence of powerful corporations and great financiers."

In those societies in which religious beliefs are strong and religious leaders form a special class, Mosca points out, a priestly aristocracy nearly always arises and secures possession of a large share of the wealth and political power. Examples of this are ancient Egypt, Brahman India and medieval Europe. The priestly class often performs not only religious functions, but legal, scientific and intellectual as well.

Mosca calls attention to the hereditary castes which develop in almost every country at some time in its history, such as in Greece before the Median wars, in ancient Rome, in India, among the Latins and Germans during the Middle Ages [sic], and in Japan until a few years previous to his writing. Mosca points out that "all ruling classes tend to become hereditary in fact if not in law." He finds the

cause for this in the force of social inertia. Eventually every governing class tries to justify its power by allying it to "some universal moral principle."

Mosca realizes that the principle of inheritance might result in a static political system. But changes are bound to arise in the balance of political forces, resulting in changes in the constitution of the ruling class. In fact, the entire history of civilization portrays a conflict between the tendency of dominant groups to hold the monopoly on political power and pass it on to their heirs, and the tendency for old forces to be replaced by new. This conflict results in "an unending ferment of endosmosis and exosmosis between the upper classes and certain portions of the lower." The ruling classes inevitably decline when they cease to utilize the capacities through which they first achieved power, when they cannot any longer render the social services formerly given, or when their talents and services lose their importance in their changing social environment. With the decline in the old ruling class, new groups arise to replace them and society approaches stability again.[38] Thus Mosca lays the foundation for

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[38]Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class (Elementi di Scienza Politica), tr. by Hannah D. Kahn, ed. and rev. by

Pareto's elaboration of the theory of the "circulation of the elite," although it seems to me that Mosca makes a better and more systematic analysis than Pareto.

3. Stratification Theory in Early American Sociology (1896-1910)

We have now completed our survey of the early development of stratification theory during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, mainly in Europe. This is not to say that every important contributor has been recognized and every major contribution discussed. Rather, it is hoped that this has been a sort of précis of the highlights as they appear to this author, in his attempt to present, so far as possible, a representative picture of the early history of the sociology of stratification. Let us hope that no grave injustice has been done, either in the matter of omission or of misrepresentation.

It is now time to turn our attention to the American scene, where sociology began at just about the turn of the

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Arthur Livingston (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939), pp. ix, xxxii, 50-69, 329-37 (Original work first published in 1896; enlarged edition first published in 1923).

century, and which is often claimed as having become the real "home" of the discipline. Let us look at six of the founders of American sociology, along with two other persons interested in stratification in the United States.[39] These writers will be presented in chronological order according to when they first demonstrated an interest in stratification, rather than in the usual order of their importance in American sociology generally.

a. Franklin Henry Giddings in 1896, divided society into "three fundamental or primary orders," which he called "population classes," as follows: (1) "Vitality classes," based upon rate of reproduction; (2) "Personality classes," based upon intelligence and ability; and (3) "Social classes," based upon degree of "evolution of a consciousness of kind and of a nature that is intellectually and morally fitted for social life." The "four true social classes" are: (a) "the social class," composed of "those who help, inspire, and lead." This class forms a "natural aristocracy among men." (b) "The non-social class," composed of those

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[39]For a more detailed analysis of the stratification writings of Ward, Sumner, Small, Giddings, Cooley and Ross see Charles Hunt Page, Class and American Sociology: From Ward to Ross (New York: The Dial Press, 1940).

who "cling to a narrow individualism," who are "simply neutral," but who provide the material for the other three classes. (c) "The pseudo-social class," composed of "congenital and habitual paupers." And, finally, (d) "the anti-social class," composed of "instinctive and habitual criminals." According to Giddings, "Classes of all other orders, such as political, industrial, and economic classes, are secondary, and are highly special products of advanced social evolution" (He does not discuss these classes in any detail).[40]

In 1901, Giddings expanded this theory and changed his terminology to include four classes: "vitality classes," "mentality classes," "morality classes," and "sociality classes." The last-named includes "the social" and "the unsocial," with three subdivisions in each. In this book, Giddings also includes a brief discussion of the "social-economic classes," which in European countries a few generations before "were known as Gentlemen, Tradesmen, Farmers, and Labourers." According to Giddings, "In democratic communities the distinction between gentlemen and other

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[40]Franklin Henry Giddings, The Principles of Sociology; An Analysis of the Phenomena of Association and of Social Organization (Third edition; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911), pp. 71-72, 124-28 (First published in 1896).

social-economic classes is intensely disliked by the body of the people, but, by whatever name they may be called, the classes exist."

Giddings presents a list of "the Social-Economic Classes" for purposes of stratification research, as follows:

1. Professional Men and Women
2. Wealthy Business Men
3. Not Wealthy Tradesmen
4. Farmers
5. Mechanics
6. Labourers

It will be noted that Giddings' list does not include the "white collar workers." But in some respects this list is better than Hunt's classification (see below) which excludes the professional group and the farmers and combines big and little businessmen. Except for this social-economic class list, Giddings cannot be said to have contributed much to the development of the sociology of stratification.[41]

b. Occupational Indices in the United States Census. Four years before Giddings' list, in 1897, William C. Hunt,

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[41]Franklin Henry Giddings, Inductive Sociology; A Syllabus of Methods, Analyses and Classifications, and Provisionally Formulated Laws (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901), pp. 242-43, 247-48, 251-64.

of the United States Bureau of the Census, classified all gainful workers into four categories: the proprietor class, the clerical class, the skilled-worker class, and the laboring class. According to Theodore Caplow, "This may be regarded as the first of a long series of socioeconomic occupational scales, designed to show the distribution of general status for the entire population in terms of occupational groups."[42]

c. Thorstein Veblen. An American economist, Thorstein Veblen, in 1899, published his treatise on The Leisure Class which remains to this day the classic in its field. Veblen finds the institution of the leisure class best developed in the higher stages of barbarism, for example, in feudal Europe or feudal Japan, where the distinction between classes is rigorously observed and a clear differentiation is made between the types of employment proper to the various classes. The basic criterion for the appellation of "leisure class" is that the upper classes by custom are exempt or excluded from any industrial labor, and are permitted

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[42]Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), p. 31. For a more recent Census classification, see the discussion of Edwards' occupational index in Chapter II of this Dissertation.

to engage only in certain employments which are associated with "honour." The main "honourable employments" are warfare and the priesthood. If the barbarian community is warlike, the warrior takes precedence; if not, the priestly office ranks highest. In Brahmin India both of these classes are exempt from industrial occupations. In higher barbarian cultures, there is a differentiation of subclasses within the leisure class, with a corresponding differentiation of employments, which may be classified as government, warfare, religious observances and sports.

At an earlier stage of barbarism, according to Veblen, the leisure class is found but in a less differentiated form. In the even lower stages of barbarism, the leisure class is no longer found in fully developed form, but the roots of its future growth may be located in the differentiation of functions and the resulting distinctions among the classes, which however have not yet led to an exemption from productive work on the part of the upper classes. Among savage groups there is very little differentiation of function, and distinctions among classes and employments are not clear. As a result there is no trace of a leisure class.

According to Veblen, the institution of a leisure

class is the result of a gradual development during the transition of societies from primitive savagery to barbarism, or during the change from a peaceable to a consistently warlike way of life. The conditions necessary for its emergence are: (1) the community must be imbued with "a predatory habit of life (war or the hunting of large game or both)": the men who comprise the "inchoate leisure class . . . must be habituated to the infliction of injury by force and stratagem"; (2) subsistence must be obtainable on such easy terms as to make possible the exemption of a large part of the community from productive work.

Veblen stresses the fact that the institution of the leisure class is the result of an historically early discrimination between employments, in which some are classed as "worthy" and others as "unworthy," the former including those that may be considered as "exploit," the unworthy everyday occupations containing none of this element. This distinction has little obvious significance within a modern industrial community, and is therefore usually overlooked by economic writers, but "it persists with great tenacity as a commonplace preconception even in modern life, as is shown . . . by our habitual aversion to menial employments."

Veblen states that "the emergence of a leisure class

coincides with the beginning of ownership" of property. As soon as the institution of private property arises, the economic process is a struggle for the possession of goods. It is generally considered that the purpose of acquisition and accumulation of goods is consumption, but with this Veblen disagrees: "The motive that lies at the root of ownership is emulation" (italics mine). In addition, emulation continues as the motive for further development of the institution of private property. "The possession of wealth confers honour; it is an invidious distinction." With the development of an industrial society, the accumulation of wealth and property replaces the trophies of war of the earlier predatory community as the sign of superiority and personal success. Wealth becomes the "conventional basis of esteem"--the evidence of "honour." By further refinement, wealth acquired passively by inheritance from one's ancestors eventually becomes "even more honorific" than that acquired by one's own effort.

Most of Veblen's book consists of an economic analysis of what is often called the "style of life" of the leisure class: its history and the reasons for its development, under such titles as "pecuniary emulation," "conspicuous leisure," "conspicuous consumption," "the pecuniary

standard of living," etc. Veblen's basic theme is not new; earlier writers had suggested many of its tenets; but certainly Veblen's work stands out as the first really thorough and scholarly analysis of the leisure class and its relation to the rest of society, and it is undoubtedly the best treatment of the subject right down to this day. Without doubt Veblen's work has had a great deal of influence on the theoretical orientation of the community studies and the "social-status scales," which began in the 1920's and which are still popular today. Unfortunately in these studies "style of life" has been reversed theoretically from being considered as a resultant of the class differentiation and distinction originally resulting from the relationship of the classes to the productive economy of the society, and is treated as if it were the criterion and the basis of class differentiation, an error which I am sure Veblen never anticipated.[43]

d. Edward Alsworth Ross. In his first major work, Social Control, published in 1901, Edward Alsworth Ross made

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[43]Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class; An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899), pp. 1-8, 22-34.

no systematic treatment of classes, but he did devote one chapter to the subject of "Class Control." Ross defined class control as "the exercise of power by a parasitic class in its own interest." Examples of types of parasitic control are slavery, serfdom, and the medieval Papacy--"the classic example of an exploitation fortified by superstitious beliefs." According to Ross, the "parasitic class" is always a ruling class. He points out that social control must not be mistaken for class control. Thus it is necessary to make a distinction between a "parasitic society" and one that is "truly competitive." Ross maintains that "In a really competitive society the hopelessly poor and wretched are, to a large extent, the weak and incompetent who have accumulated at the lower end of the social scale, because they or their parents have failed to meet the tests of the competitive system. In a society cleft by parasitism, on the other hand, the poor are poor because they are held under the harrow, and not because they are less capable and energetic than the classes that prey upon them."[44]

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[44]Edward Alsworth Ross, Social Control; A Survey of the Foundations of Order (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), pp. 96, 376-94 (First published in 1901).

In this book Ross refers to the "stratified community" but does not use the term, "stratification." Up to the twentieth century the phenomena of ranks, classes, etc. had not been thought of in terms of "stratification"; in fact, in our discussion up to now we have found that only Spencer had used the term, "stratum" (and "strata"). Previously, Saint-Simon had referred to "layers" within the social pyramid.

As late as 1933 Ross held fast to his pessimistic view toward classes. He writes: "Stratification is a veritable social disease which slows down the natural sifting of human beings, hampers the rise of the talented and the descent of dullards, discourages the masses, checks the flow of sympathy and ends in the semi-paralysis, perhaps the breakup, of the society."[45]

In the Foundations of Sociology (1905), Ross still showed little interest in classes. But he does devote some space to a discussion of the class views of Veblen, Gumplowicz, and others.[46] In his two later textbooks, however,

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[45]Edward Alsworth Ross, The Outlines of Sociology (Revised edition; New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933), p. 283 (First published in 1923).

[46]Edward Alsworth Ross, Foundations of Sociology (Fifth edition; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917), pp. 277-81, 323 (First published in 1905).

Principles of Sociology (1920)[47] and The Outlines of Sociology (1923),[48] Ross allocates five chapters (in each work) to a discussion of "Class and Caste."

Ross' writings are an excellent example of the "dead-end" approach to stratification. With such prejudiced views against stratification, as he so apparently held, it would have been impossible for Ross to perceive the functions which stratification performs in society, nor the "good" as well as "bad" aspects of stratification.

e. Lester Frank Ward, whom Barnes calls the "earliest systematic American sociologist," who "produced the most impressive and comprehensive system of sociology" among American writers,[49] did not discuss social classes or stratification in his Dynamic Sociology (1883; often called his magnum opus), or in his Outlines of Sociology (1898). In the Pure Sociology (1903), Ward made incidental

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[47]Edward Alsworth Ross, Principles of Sociology (New York: The Century Company, 1920), pp. 320-85.

[48]Edward Alsworth Ross, The Outlines of Sociology (New York: The Century Company, 1926), pp. 235-76 (First published in 1923).

[49]Harry Elmer Barnes, "Lester Frank Ward: The Reconstruction of Society by Social Science," in Barnes, op. cit., p. 173.

reference to social classes and castes.

In Ward's scheme of society, the development of the social order is not a struggle for existence but a "struggle for structure," in which the best structures survive. During the process of growth, the most important principle is that of "social synergy": the force which creates all structures and explains all organization. Synergy takes place mainly through the process of "social karyokinesis." According to Ward, in the conquest of a weaker by a stronger race, the following steps occur: (1) subjugation of one race by another; (2) the origin of caste; (3) rise of individual, social and political inequality; (4) development of law; (5) origin of the state; (6) cementing mass of heterogeneous elements into homogeneous people; and (7) formation of the nation. Ward was under the influence of Ratzenhofer and Gumplowicz in regarding the "struggle of races and social groups" as the primary factor in the growth of the state.

Thus Ward sees the origin of castes in the process of conquest and race antagonism and submission. Classes, on the other hand, result from differential nutrition. In the history of mankind, it has always been a special class which has been able to secure the means to nourish the body

fully so as to result in physical and mental superiority over the much larger class which has always been inadequately nourished. Ward believes that "although slavery has been abolished and the feudal system overthrown, the new industrial system is largely repeating the pristine conditions, and in the Old World especially, and more and more in the New, class distinctions prevail, and differences of nutrition, of protection, and of physical exertion are still keeping up the distinction of a superior and an inferior class."

Ward finally proposes "a strictly business class," which is "formed out of the mesoderm" (traceable to the combined mass of both races) "of the metasocial tissues" (belonging to the second stage of social development--that of conquest and race amalgamation).[50]

f. Albion W. Small. So far as I have been able to determine, Albion W. Small was the first writer to use the term, "stratification," in General Sociology, published in 1905. In his discussion of "The Actual Conflict of Interests

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[50]Lester F. Ward, Pure Sociology; A Treatise on the Origin and Spontaneous Development of Society (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903), pp. 205-206, 274, 288-89, 567.

in Modern Society," Small writes: "Stratification of economic classes--wide divisions between rich and poor--may be alleged as per se evil, and a symptom of evil." To which he replies that this "may or may not be the case; and even if it is, the source of the evil may not be in social institutions at all." His conclusion of this problem is that "the chronic conflict of interests in America today, and elsewhere . . .; the conflict that produces the most tension, . . . that involves the most radical differences, . . . that is fundamental to most of the specific issues which produce acute social disorders, is the fundamental hostility between those types of people who think that institutions should always be responsible for their stewardship to the living generation, and those other types of people who act on the assumption that institutions can do no wrong" (author's italics omitted). This is exactly opposite the position taken by Ross, as we have just seen.

In his analysis of the "Types of Antagonistic Interests in States," Small refers to "the rank interests," which "are of relatively little concern to Americans, except as we study comparative conditions in other States." But, Small asserts, politically recognized social ranks are nothing but the "survivals of successful struggle for

advantage in respect to the primary interests." Men have attempted to ally permanently with themselves and their descendants both civic and economic power, so as to free themselves from the extremes of competition for the means of subsistence and of an advanced standard of life. The necessities of life which the masses must secure by a hand-to-mouth process, the ranks obtain by virtue of their privileged situation in the State. In brief, Small adds: "rank, seen from the side of the individual interests that culminate in it, is genetically a labor-saving device, and is strictly a concession to the desire to escape disagreeable exertion." This is analogous to Veblen's description of the leisure class.

According to Small, whatever the form of civic societies, "each of them tends to stratification into the same essential components. There are always, either developed or developing, three chief groups: (1) the privileged; (2) the middle class; (3) those without property, rights, or influence." At first, this stratification takes place industrially rather than politically. Once people have achieved a degree of economic prosperity, they try to secure their position by political action with others who are similarly situated. They may establish castes, or they

may succeed only in establishing hereditary offices. Eventually, these two strata of privileged and noninfluential add a third, subject stratum of slaves taken in military conquest. Thus is completed the structure of ancient society, composed of the "influential, dominant rank," the "free rank" and the "slave rank."

Small believes that the stratification of ranks is always and necessarily present. Even in apparently homogeneous societies, where all men appear equal, there is a certain division of functions and an embryonic stratification. In every society, whether the rank distinction is clear or not, there is a constant struggle by those in lower positions against the prestige and privilege of the upper ranks. From the bottom, noninfluential stratum a middle rank is always emerging, from which a few force their way up into the privileged rank. In order to keep its membership limited, the top rank invents institutional devices, "such as nobilities, aristocracies, patriciates, corporations of various kinds, like those of feudalism, chivalry, ecclesiasticism, etc." In addition, less rigid and legal arrangements are devised, such as "forms of social intercourse, styles of dress, amusements; . . . the whole realm of fashion." Again we find the influence of

Veblen, whom Small acknowledges. The middle rank has no coherence because its members are constantly trying to rise into the upper rank and are likely to be "traitors to their own class." The lower strata deny their separateness from the middle rank, and yet recognize their constant and unsuccessful rivalry with that group. It is the consciousness of this situation which, according to Small, spurs the lower ranks, "at irregular intervals, to spasmodic class eruptions for violent adjustment of opportunities."[51]

Although Small fails to develop a sound theory of stratification, we nevertheless find certain encouraging aspects of the classical tradition of class theory in his writings. Small, like Marx, sees the source of class differentiation in the economic process ("industrialism"), and recognizes that political action follows from this. Also like Marx, Small sees the basis for "class eruptions" in the "consciousness" of their "situation" by the "lower strata." We have already pointed out the influence of

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[51]Albion W. Small, General Sociology; An Exposition of the Main Development in Sociological Theory from Spencer to Ratzenhofer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905), pp. 274-78, 379-82.

Veblen on Small. Finally, Small anticipates Max Weber by his differentiation of society into "the privileged," "the middle class," and "those without property," but unfortunately Small fails to develop this thought much further.

g. William Graham Sumner. In his best-known work, Folkways, first published in 1907, William Graham Sumner attempted a clarification of the general theory of classes which is a perfect example of what not to do in the sociology of stratification. Sumner's theory of classes cannot be considered other than a "pure intellectual exercise," devoid of meaning or applicability.

Influenced by Sir Francis Galton, who had classified men according to "their natural gifts," Sumner chose "societal value" as the best criterion for the classification of society. According to Sumner, "societal value" conforms to "mental power," but also contains an element of "practical sense, health, and opportunity (luck)." There are four elements to societal value: "intellectual, moral, economic, and physical."

Believing that all human characteristics are distributed within a society on the basis of a curve of probable error, including the trait of "societal value," Sumner

utilized a diagrammatic representation developed by O. Ammon, which is, in effect, two asymmetrical normal distribution curves placed bottom to bottom, and up on one end, forming what looks like a child's spinning top.[52] At the top of this "top" are a small number of "men of genius." Below these, are a larger number of "men of talent." At the very bottom of the "top" are a small number of "dependent, defective, and delinquent classes." Above them is a narrow stratum called the "proletariat," who have no regular mode of earning a living but who are not at the moment dependent. Above this is a well-defined stratum of "the self-supporting, but unskilled and illiterate." All the aforementioned strata may be called "classes." In fact, according to Sumner, the only sense of "class" is that it indicates the relative position of one in the entire group.

The large majority of the society--those who fall in between the "men of talent" and the "unskilled and illiterate" on the diagram (the fat, central portion of our "top"), are called "the masses." They are distinguished by "mediocrity." Sumner makes a clear distinction between the "classes" and the "masses." He believes that the "historical

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[52]This analogy is mine, not Sumner's--he reproduces the figure.

or selected classes" have controlled human activities and social policy for generations. They have held their position by inheritance, which gives them prestige and authority. The masses have merely imitated their ways. He writes: "The classes have led the way in luxury, frivolity, and vice, and also in refinement, culture, and the art of living. They have introduced variation. The masses,"on the other hand, "are not large classes at the base of a social pyramid; they are the core of the society. They are conservative. They accept life as they find it, and live on by tradition and habit." In other words, according to Sumner, "the great mass of any society lives a purely instinctive life just like animals." In spite of this seemingly pessimistic description of the "classes" and the "masses," Sumner believed that "the two sections of society are such that they may coöperate with advantage to the good of all. Neither one has a right or a better claim to rule the society."[53] This last ridiculous statement is the antithesis of the view expressed by Ortega y Gasset, who

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[53]William Graham Sumner, Folkways; A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals (Revised edition; Boston: Ginn and Company, no date), pp. 39-47 (First published in 1907).

writes: "the masses, by definition, neither should nor can direct their own personal existence, and still less rule society in general."[54]

I should like to insert at this point that the concept of "the masses," as a stratification category,[55] is one of those concepts, of which there are unfortunately (and necessarily in any science) many, which are devised to cover up an area of ignorance.[56] The "masses" are those vague,

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[54]Jose Ortega y Gasset, The Revolt of the Masses, Authorized translation (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1932), p. 11 (First published in Spanish in 1930).

[55]Ortega y Gasset uses the term "masses" not as a stratification grouping but as a social-psychological concept: "Strictly speaking, the mass, as a psychological fact, can be defined without waiting for individuals to appear in mass formation. In the presence of one individual we can decide whether he is 'mass' or not. The mass is all that which sets no value on itself--good or ill--based on specific grounds, but which feels itself 'just like everybody,' and nevertheless is not concerned about it; is, in fact, quite happy to feel itself as one with everybody else." He specifically points out that "The division of society into masses and select minorities is . . . not a division into social classes, but into classes of men, and cannot coincide with the hierarchic separation of 'upper' and 'lower' classes." Ibid., pp. 15-16.

[56]Take, for example, the biological concept of "mutation," which up until recently has meant simply (unexplained) "change" or "sudden variation," although some sociologists have used this concept as an "evidence" of evolution. A break-through in this area of ignorance is foreseeable in the near future with the further study of the DNA molecule.

undefined, abstract, heterogeneous categories of individuals which have not yet been properly located theoretically within the stratification system. But, before we relegate this concept to a place in the archaic past of sociological theory, it is interesting to note that as recently as January of this year, one of our professional journals has published an article on occupational prestige which refers to "the two strata": "the masses and the classes."[57]

h. Charles Horton Cooley, certainly one of America's most outstanding sociologists, was, so far as I can determine, the first writer to include an extensive and systematic treatment of classes in a sociology text. In the second of his famous trilogy, Social Organization (1909), a work which, like his others, is clearly written, thought provoking, and highly original (three virtues which seem to be conspicuously rare in sociology texts today!), Cooley devotes an entire section (ten chapters) to the subject of "Social Classes."

Cooley starts out by suggesting that: "Speaking roughly, we may call any persistent social group, other

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[57]Joel E. Gerstl, "Determinants of Occupational Community in High Status Occupations," The Sociological Quarterly, II (1961), 37.

than the family, existing within a larger group, a class. And every society, except possibly the most primitive, is more or less distinctly composed of classes." He insists that "Individuals never achieve their life in separation, but always in coöperation with a group of other minds, and in proportion as these coöperating groups stand out from one another with some distinctness they constitute social classes." Cooley believes that, in general, class differentiation is useful, since a certain amount of class spirit and special traditions and standards are essential for proper performance of the various functions of life. He recognizes the fact that some class divisions are useless or harmful, but considers that some distinctions are necessary, and deplores the lack of adequate group differentiation within our own society in its higher mental activities.

The two principles according to which class membership is determined, Cooley indicates, are inheritance and competition. The principle of descent results in a fixed system, such as the hereditary nobility of England and Germany. The alternative is some system of selection: by election or appointment, as in American politics; by purchase, as in the British army and navy in the past; or by

informal preference, opportunity and effort, which operate in most contemporary trades and professions.

The term, "caste," was originally applied to the hereditary groups in India, but Cooley finds that it is common practice and more convenient to give it a wider meaning. Accordingly, to Cooley, when a class is "somewhat strictly hereditary," it should be called a "caste." The source of caste is to be found in the striving to preserve for one's children what one has secured for himself: wealth (the most tangible and obvious source of caste), as well as education, culture, good associations, manners, religious and moral ideas. As a result, even in a comparatively free country, society is "vaguely divided into hereditary strata or sections, from which the majority do not depart." Once the hereditary transmission of function has been established, "a caste spirit, a sentiment in favor of such transmission and opposed to the passage from one class into another, may arise and be shared even by the unprivileged classes." The individual identifies himself and his family with his own caste and develops a sympathy for others of like feeling. "The caste thus becomes a psychical organism, consolidated by community of sentiment and tradition." This helps to explain the survival of the

ruling class in England, for the protest from the "lower orders" has been practically insignificant. Out of the caste sentiments there arise social, political and economic institutions, such as the medieval system in Europe, which serve to define and perpetuate the hereditary distinctions.

There are, according to Cooley, three conditions which either increase or lessen the caste principle: (1) "likeness or unlikeness in the constituents of the population;" (2) "the rate of social change;" (3) "the state of communication and enlightenment." Unlikeness among the constituents, a stable social system, and a low state of communication and enlightenment favor the development of caste, and vice versa.

Regarding the Negro-white relations in the South, Cooley writes: "The race caste existing in the Southern United States illustrates the impotence of democratic traditions to overcome the caste spirit when fostered by obvious physical and psychical differences. This spirit is immeasurably strong on the part of the whites, and there is no apparent prospect of its diminution." Although I have no quarrel with this argument, I do disagree with the appellation of "caste" to the Southern situation (this will be discussed in more detail later). I wonder how much

influence Cooley had over later writers, beginning with the "class-caste" investigators in the South?

Cooley finds that with the growth of freedom classes become more open, that is, based less upon descent and more on individual traits. Competition becomes more active and serves the function of assigning an appropriate place in the society to each individual. Cooley believes that in contemporary American society classes are partly determined by inheritance and partly by a "more or less open competition." He sees no danger of a future "class-war." He does not believe that class organization is necessarily hostile to freedom, but maintains that "all organization is, properly, a means through which freedom is sought."

Cooley acknowledges that different observers find different class divisions in American society, which could not have happened in the Middle Ages, and finds the reason in the fact that there are an indefinite number of possible types of classification in a class society not structured according to caste principles. The three most conspicuous types of class division are: (1) according to trade or profession, such as lawyers, grocers, plumbers, bankers, etc., or hand-laboring class, skilled and unskilled, the mercantile class, the professional class and the farming class; (2) according to income: paupers, the poor, the

comfortable, the well-to-do and the rich; and (3) according to culture. But Cooley concedes that it is "upon the grosser and more obvious differences of wealth and rank, and not upon intellectual or moral traits, that classes, in the ordinary meaning of the word, are based."

Cooley believes that men will always seek to achieve power. In modern society wealth represents "nearly all the grosser and more tangible forms" of power: primarily, power over material goods, and secondarily, power over labor and professional services, etc. Thus a "capitalist class" arises, with the principle of "the survival of the fittest --not necessarily of the best." But Cooley concedes that the ascendency of the capitalist class rests, in part, upon service: its members have had an important function to perform and in so doing have been able to achieve wealth.

Cooley feels that the dominant power of wealth has had an oppressive effect upon the lower classes, and has resulted in misery for the poor. He sees the need of a feeling of class-consciousness for self-assertion against the pressure of other classes, and points out that the hand-working classes, lacking organization and unity, find expression of class-consciousness only in labor unions and "that wider, vaguer, more philosophical or religious

movement, too various for definition, which is known as socialism."[58]

Cooley has much more to say about classes and class feeling, but the above are a few of the high-lights of his thinking. Cooley does use the term, "strata," but not "stratification." But he also refers to the "crystallization of classes," an expression which reappears in an article by Lenski in 1954 as "status and class crystallization."[59] Cooley's work must be regarded, in spite of the many criticisms which I have of it (especially in his use of "caste"), as a significant contribution to the development of stratification theory in the United States.

In a later work, Cooley made a contribution to the social psychology of classes by suggesting that the basic cause of conflict among classes is the lack of communication. Cooley points out that there is nothing more important for people to understand, or less understood, than the "class atmospheres" in which they live. People usually believe that their way of looking upon social and economic

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[58]Charles Horton Cooley, Social Organization; A Study of the Larger Mind (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pp. 207-309.

[59]Gerhard E. Lenski, "Status Crystallization: A Non-Vertical Dimension of Social Status," American Sociological Review, XIX (1954), 405-13.

questions is "the natural way, the American way, the right way," and do not recognize that it has been imposed upon them by suggestions from their social environment. Cooley finds something "rather alarming . . . in the self-complacent ignorance which men in one class show regarding the ideas and feelings of their fellow citizens in another. It is rare to find among business or professional men any real comprehension of the struggles and aspirations of the hand-working class, while the contemptuous attitude of the native toward the immigrant, or the white toward the negro, is inevitably answered by resentment on the other side." According to Cooley, "The basis of these misunderstandings is the lack of real communication." Cooley believes that people mean well, but good meanings are ineffective without understanding. "The press, which ought to interpret social classes to each other, is itself divided on class lines," and merely confirms the reader in his class bias. And the "common schools" fail to instruct the children for "large and sympathetic views" toward other classes.[60]

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[60]Charles Horton Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (Revised edition; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), pp. 72-73 (First published in 1902--above passage not in earlier edition).

Although it is true, of course, that there is often a lack of communication in any type of conflict situation, Cooley is wrong in considering this the basic cause of class conflict. When the leaders of the local labor union sit down with the representatives of management, each side is usually quite cognizant of the opposition's interests, motivations, problems, and intentions. And there is likely to be excellent communication across the bargaining table. But this will not lessen the overt hostility and the attempt by each side to achieve its own goals and to get the "better" of the opposition.

4. Significance of the Pioneer Period for Contemporary Stratification Theory

This ends our systematic, chronological survey of the early history of the sociology of stratification. We have traced the growth of the discipline from the first systematic discussion of "ranks" in 1767 to the first mature presentation of stratification theory in an American sociology text in 1909. The question might well be raised: Why stop our detailed survey with the early pioneers when, in fact, widespread and general interest in stratification theory and research did not begin in this country until

after 1920, and gained momentum in the thirties and forties? There are many reasons for stopping here.

First is a practical reason: after 1910 the literature in the field of stratification becomes so immense as to render it impossible to cover it adequately in one dissertation. Secondly, most of the literature after 1910 is quite well-known to any student of stratification, apparently better known than the earlier works. Thirdly, there are several satisfactory reviews and summaries of this literature readily available at the present time, as well as a number of extensive bibliographies.[61] Fourthly, with a

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[61]See, for example, the following works:

Donald G. MacRae, "Social Stratification; A trend report and bibliography," Current Sociology, II (1953-54), No. 1.

Harold W. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification: Critique and Bibliography," American Journal of Sociology, 58 (1953), 391-418.

Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power; A Reader in Social Stratification (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953).

John F. Cuber and William F. Kenkel, Social Stratification in the United States (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954); Selected Bibliography.

Roscoe C. Hinkle, Jr. and Alvin Boskoff, "Social Stratification in Perspective," in Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff (eds.), Modern Sociological Theory; in Continuity and Change (New York: The Dryden Press, 1957), pp.368-95.

few outstanding exceptions (some of which will be discussed in the following chapters), the literature on stratification theory after 1910 consists mainly of repeating, expanding, criticizing or elaborating the theories developed by the early pioneers. Fifthly, most of the occupational indices, "social-status" scales, occupational prestige measures, and community studies which have occupied a considerable portion of the time and energy of stratification researchers from 1920 to the present, although they have their utility and their merits if properly used and interpreted, are valueless when it comes to discovering, describing, or measuring social classes, or trying to arrive at scientific generalizations regarding stratification theory (these research studies will be discussed in Chapter

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Bernard Barber, Social Stratification; A Comparative Analysis of Structure and Process (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957); Extensive Bibliography.

Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1959). (First published in 1957.)

Milton M. Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1958); Extensive Bibliography.

Leonard Reissman, Class in American Society (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959).

III). Finally, there is throughout the early writings an underflowing current of thought which we are here calling (after Heberle) the classical tradition (better than "school") of stratification theory, which considers stratification as a phenomenon based upon the socioeconomic relations of production and distribution of goods, from which political action arises. This is exemplified particularly in the writings of Ferguson, Millar, Smith, Ricardo, Marx, Toennies, Mosca and Veblen. This tradition is carried on after 1910 particularly in the works of Sombart, Weber, Toennies, and Heberle, which works will be discussed in some detail in Chapter II.

Having answered, satisfactorily, I hope, the question of why we stopped our survey with the year 1910, the next question which might logically be raised is: Why devote so much space to the early writers in the field? The answer is simple. Because these men whom we have discussed in considerable detail above are the pioneers in stratification theory. They are the pathfinders. They pointed out the course: some pointed down the straight road to the development of sound sociological theory; others pointed out twisting, rock-strewn paths, and dead-end trails, which many later investigators have followed, and on which they

have fallen.

These then are the "forgotten men," the misunderstood men, and the misinterpreted men. This chapter has been written with the aim of restoring them to their rightful place in contemporary stratification theory.

But Merton insists that "a science which hesitates to forget its founders is lost."[62] This hypothesis (for I should like to call it that--and subject it to the test) is undoubtedly true (at the .05 level) if by not "forgetting its founders" one means to believe, to accept without question or reservation, and to pass on to one's heirs as true knowledge. Such a course would result in a stifling conservatism which would be fatal to any science. But if this statement means merely "don't remember" the founders, it might still be true (at the .50 level) at a certain mature level of development of a science when a body of laws has been accumulated and validated, and a precise methodology thoroughly established.

But this hypothesis is not true (rejected at the .01 level!) during the immature stage of development of any

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[62]Alfred North Whitehead, The Organisation of Thought, quoted in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Revised edition; Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 3-5.

science, since to forget its founders means to forget their experiences, their errors, their insights and the blind-alleys which they frequently trod. To forget means to repeat the experiences, repeat the errors, rediscover (if fortunate) the insights, and run cheerfully and blindly down the same alleys. In fact, it seems to me that the sociology of stratification is now at the crossroads, and a decision must be made: to continue down the straight path of scientific investigation, following the trail blazed by the more insightful and foresightful of our ancestors, or stumble about on the bypaths, trying to "prove" or "disprove" the existence of social classes in the United States or elsewhere; trying to "discover" or measure classes by means of class "awareness" or class "consciousness" questionnaires, occupational prestige ratings, or broad, heterogeneous occupational indices. As Heberle suggests in his recent paper: it is time to "recover" stratification theory!

II. STRATIFICATION THEORY AND RESEARCH SINCE 1910

If I were to continue the chronological survey of the history of the sociology of stratification down to the present day, I would divide it into three periods, as follows.

1. Productive Period in Theory and Beginnings of Empirical Research (1911-1935)

In calling this the "productive period," I take exception with MacRae, who claims that "The 1914-18 war marks the beginning of a lull in the study of stratification, which lasted--despite some important exceptions--until the nineteen-thirties."[63] I disagree with MacRae because this period produced the writings of Sombart, Pareto, Weber, Sorokin, Schumpeter and Toennies; it saw the beginnings of the ecological studies, the social-status scales and the community studies; and sociology textbooks in this country came to recognize stratification theory as constituting an important part of sociology (even Ross devotes five chapters to "Class and Caste" in each of his texts published in 1920 and 1923).

Some of the more important works produced during this period are:

a. In theory: Georges Sorel, many works on socialism between 1889-1921, especially Réflexions sur la violence (1906; Eng. tr., 1914). Werner Sombart, Der Bourgeois (1913; Eng. tr., The Quintessence of Capitalism, 1915).

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[63]MacRae, op. cit., p. 13.

Vilfredo Pareto, Trattato di Sociologia generale (1915-1919; Eng. tr., The Mind and Society, 1935). Max Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (1921; Eng. trs.--see Chapter II). Pontus E. Fahlbeck, Die Klassen und die gesellschaft (1922; not tr. in Eng.). Georg Lukacs, Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein (1923; not tr. in Eng.). Pitirim A. Sorokin, Social Mobility (1927). Joseph Schumpeter, "Die sozialen Klassen im ethnisch-homogenen Milieu" (1927; Eng. tr., 1951). Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, many articles on "status," "caste," "class," etc. (1930-1935). Ferdinand Toennies, "Staende und Klassen" (1931; Eng. tr., 1953). Lewis Corey, The Crisis of the Middle Class (1935).[64]

Some of the above writings merit at least brief discussion here. Sorokin's Social Mobility remains to this day the classic in its field. Sorokin defines social stratification as: "the differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superposed classes. It is manifested in the existence of upper and lower social layers. Its basis and very essence consist in an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values

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[64]For complete references for these, and for the works which follow, see Bibliography at end of Dissertation.

and privations, social power and influences among the members of a society." Sorokin delineates three types of social stratification: economic, political and occupational, which schema has had considerable influence upon later theorists. He defines social mobility as "any transition of an individual or social object or value--anything that has been created or modified by human activity--from one social position to another." Sorokin's detailed analysis of "vertical" and "horizontal" mobility constitutes the most comprehensive study of mobility available.[65]

According to Schumpeter, "Class is something more than an aggregation of class members. It is something else, and this something cannot be recognized in the behavior of the individual class member. A class is aware of its identity as a whole, sublimates itself as such, has its own peculiar life and characteristic 'spirit.'" To Schumpeter, "The family, not the physical person, is the true unit of class and class theory." Finally, "Class structure is the ranking of such individual families by their social value in accordance, ultimately, with their differing aptitudes."

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[65]Pitirim Sorokin, Social Mobility (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927), pp. 11, 133.

Schumpeter's analysis of the "rise and fall of families within a class," the "movement across class lines," and the "rise and fall of whole classes," in terms of German society, is a beautiful example of historical stratification analysis and has much to offer the contemporary student of stratification.[66]

Some of the articles in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences should be mentioned briefly. Max Radin gives an excellent historical and theoretical discussion of "status." Radin defines status as "essentially a legal term" which "connotes the sum of the legal capacities of an individual, his powers to enforce legal rights and obligations either for himself or for others."[67] A. L. Kroeber defines "caste" as "an endogamous and hereditary subdivision of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior or inferior rank or social esteem in comparison with other such subdivisions." Most of the article is concerned with the

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[66]Joseph Schumpeter, "Social Classes in an Ethnically Homogeneous Environment," in Imperialism; Social Classes; two essays by Joseph Schumpeter, tr. by Heinz Norden (New York: Meridian Books, 1955), pp. 107, 113, 160 (First published in 1927).

[67]Max Radin, "Status," Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930-1935), XIV:373-78 (1934).

Hindu caste system of India. But Kroeber also discusses the "quasi-caste" system during the Middle Ages in Europe. According to Kroeber there is very little caste growth among primitive people because of the predominating idea of kinship.[68] The article on "class" by Paul Mombert contains a very excellent discussion of stratification concepts, of the historical development of various stratification systems, and of various class theories. But, unfortunately, although Mombert discusses at length the problem of definition, he does not ever decide upon a definition of class.[69] Morris Ginsberg's article on "class consciousness" is very poor. Ginsberg does not really define or explain class consciousness; he does not even mention Marx, the originator of the concept. According to Ginsberg, "it is extremely difficult to say what exactly one is conscious of when one is class conscious." And then he goes on to explain class consciousness in terms of "sentiments."[70] The article on "class struggle" by

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[68]A. L. Kroeber, "Caste," ibid., III:254-56 (1930).

[69]Paul Mombert, "Class," ibid., III:531-36 (1930).

[70]Morris Ginsberg, "Class Consciousness," ibid., III:536-38 (1930).

Lewis L. Lorwin is very good, and includes a discussion of Marx's theory of class struggle.[71] The article by Sorokin on "social mobility" contains an abbreviated version of his theory of horizontal and vertical mobility.[72]

b. In research: Writings of the "Ecological School" in Chicago: Robert E.Park, Ernest W. Burgess, R. D. McKenzie, et al. (middle twenties to early thirties).[73] Robert and Helen Lynd, Middletown (1929). Harvey Zorbaugh, Gold Coast and Slum (1929). F. Stuart Chapin, "The Measurement of Social Status by the Use of the Social Status Scale" (1933). Alba M. Edwards, "A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States" (1933).

2. Period of Consolidation and Research (1936-1950)

According to Hinkle and Boskoff, the study of social stratification was not consolidated and unified as a separate field until after 1936.[74] But the outstanding

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[71]Lewis L. Lorwin, "Class Struggle," ibid., III:538-42 (1930).

[72]P. A. Sorokin, "Mobility, Social," ibid.,X:554-55 (1933).

[73]See the discussion of the Ecological School in Gordon, op. cit., pp. 21-52.

[74]Hinkle and Boskoff, op. cit., p. 383.

characteristic of this period seems to be the intense interest in stratification research, especially in the form of community studies and occupational indices. A few of the better-known and most frequently quoted publications are:

a. In theory: Goetz A. Briefs, The Proletariat (1937; based upon an earlier article in German). Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification" (1940). Kingsley Davis, "A Conceptual Analysis of Stratification" (1942). Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification" (1945). Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture and Personality (1947; especially Chapters 14 and 15). Oliver Cromwell Cox, Caste, Class, & Race (1948). C. Wright Mills, The New Men of Power (1948). Llewellyn Gross, "The Use of Class Concepts in Sociological Research" (1949). Alex Inkeles, "Social Stratification and Mobility in the Soviet Union: 1940-1950" (1950).

b. In research: John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (1937). Robert and Helen Lynd, Middletown in Transition (1937). Alba M. Edwards, A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States (1938).

George A. Lundberg, "The Measurement of Socioeconomic Status" (1940). Allison Davis, et al., Deep South (1941). Warner and Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (Yankee City Series, Vol. I; 1941). Warner and Lunt, The Status System of a Modern Community (Yankee City Series, Vol. II; 1942). Alba M. Edwards, Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940 (1943). Drake and Cayton, Black Metropolis (1945). James West, Plainville, U. S. A. (1945). Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (1949). Warner, et al., Democracy in Jonesville (1949). Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (1949). Warner, et al., Social Class in America (1949).

3. Revival of Interest in Stratification Theory (1951-1961)

The recent period in the sociology of stratification marks the revival of interest in theory, the attempted unification of the field, and the expected end-product: the publishing of textbooks. The first purported text in stratification was published by Cuber and Kenkel in 1954, although the year before, the Reader in Social Stratification had been compiled by Bendix and Lipset. A few of the major contributions of this period are:

a. In theory: The nine works listed in Footnote 61 above. C. Wright Mills, White Collar (1951). August B. Hollingshead, "Trends in Social Stratification: A Case Study" (1952). Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (1953). Harold F. Kaufman, et al., "Problems of Theory and Method in the Study of Social Stratification in Rural Society" (1953). Talcott Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification" (1953). Melvin M. Tumin, "Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Analysis" (1953). Maurice Halbwachs, Esquisse d'une psychologie des classes sociales (1955; Eng. tr., 1958). Kurt B. Mayer, Class and Society (1955). Rudolf Heberle, "Changes in the Social Stratification of the South" (1956). Ralf Dahrendorf, Soziale Klassen und Klassenkonflikt in der industriellen Gesellschaft (1957; Eng. tr., 1959). Walter Buckley, "Social Stratification and the Functional Theory of Social Differentiation" (1958). Leonard Broom, "Social Differentiation and Stratification" (1959). Rudolf Heberle, "The Changing Social Stratification of the South," and "Recovery of Class Theory" (1959). Floyd Hunter, Top Leadership, U.S.A. (1959). Robert A. Nisbet, "The Decline and Fall of Social Class" (1959). Gerald D. Berreman, "Caste in India and the United States" (1960).

b. In research: Many articles in Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status and Power (1953). D. V. Glass (ed.), Social Mobility in Britain (1954). G. D. H. Cole, Studies in Class Structure (1955). Warner and Abegglen, Big Business Leaders in America (1955). Oscar Glantz, "Class Consciousness and Political Solidarity" (1958). David C. Marsh, The Changing Social Structure of England and Wales (1958). Edwin D. Lawson and Walter E. Boek, "Correlations of Indexes of Families' Socio-Economic Status" (1960). Morton B. King, Jr., "Socioeconomic Status and Sociometric Choice" (1961).

III. THE PROBLEM

The problem, then, is this. After two centuries of development, there is no consensus within the field of the sociology of stratification. There is no generally accepted theory of stratification--no "single major conceptual structure," but a variety of "theories," as Parsons pointed out regarding the discipline of sociology, itself, a few years back.[75] Furthermore, there is no unity between theory

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[75]Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory; Pure and Applied (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949), pp. 3-4.

and empirical research. Most of the stratification research is conducted with complete disregard for theory. The community studies are anthropologically oriented; they are in the nature of social and cultural "stock-taking"; their expressed purpose is "to discover the social classes" by interviewing the residents and cross-checking their responses.[76] The "public opinion" type surveys of classes and class "consciousness" measure nothing but verbalized statements of "opinions" (more on this in Chapter II).

The Edwards' Occupational Index, the Minnesota Occupational Scale, and the Centers' Occupational Index are all valuable tools, and have their proper place in sociological research. But they by no means coincide with stratification (or class) groupings. Barber, in a masterpiece of

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[76]This is not intended in any way as a criticism of the discipline of anthropology. Many significant contributions to theory and research methodology in the study of man and society have been made by the anthropologists. The above criticism (and other similar criticisms in this dissertation) is directed only against the particular type of research as that conducted by the Warner school and others in the American community studies. But let me hasten to add that, in spite of my severe disapproval of Warner's theory of "class" and his methodology of studying "classes" in the United States, this disapproval does not extend to Warner's work among nonliterate peoples; his Black Civilization, for example, I consider an excellent piece of anthropological research and analysis.

synthesis (he makes restless bed-fellows of Marx and Warner[77]), considers, with little critical evaluation, practically every type of "stratification" theory or research; he attempts to develop a structural-functional theory of stratification; and yet when it comes to measuring classes and mobility he turns to the occupational indices, which have little if any relationship to the theory he is trying to build. Mayer develops a theory of class based upon three dimensions, economic, "status" (prestige), and power (as a result of misunderstanding Weber), and then he measures classes in the United States, utilizing Census Reports, as follows: "Upper class"--those with annual income over $15,000 (1 per cent); "Lower" or "working class" --manual workers and farm laborers (over 55 per cent); "Middle class"--everybody else. How these "classes" are related to his theory, Mayer does not say.[78] Kahl develops a class theory along Warnerian lines, but measures mobility with occupational indices.

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[77]Barber apparently accepts both Marx's theory of "class consciousness" and "false consciousness," and Warner's technique of "symbolic placement" and "status reputation." Op. cit., pp. 113-14, 188.

[78]Kurt B. Mayer, Class and Society (New York; Random House, 1955), pp. 23-27, 40.

The real problem, therefore, for the sociology of stratification is to develop a systematic theory of stratification, based upon sound, general sociological theory, which may be utilized in empirical research, statistical or otherwise, and which is applicable to any and every social system. It is to this problem that this dissertation is directed. Chapter II will attempt a "recovery" of stratification theory in the classical tradition, and Chapters III and IV will try to spell out the basic requisites and proposals for a comprehensive, unified, structural-functional theory of stratification.

CHAPTER II

RECOVERY OF STRATIFICATION THEORY

Borrowing the term from Rudolf Heberle, this chapter will attempt to "recover" the "classical tradition" of stratification theory from the archives of the history of error, where many contemporary sociologists prefer to let it remain, and to correct some of the mistranslations and misinterpretations of that theory.[1] In the chapters which follow, I shall endeavor to incorporate this tradition with contemporary structural-functionalism and role theory so as to develop a tentative model for a comprehensive, unified theory and methodology of stratification.

Heberle points out that "the term class from its earliest appearance in modern political and economic literature had a polemic, a political meaning." In addition, "the early class concept was a narrow one based upon

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[1]Rudolf Heberle, "Recovery of Class Theory," The Pacific Sociological Review, II (1959), 18-24.

economic criteria."[2] This is also true of other stratification concepts: ranks, orders, strata and caste.

In the first chapter we traced in some detail the growth of stratification theory up to the year 1910. Throughout all the theoretical contradictions and value judgments of the early writers, a few common foci of agreement stand out.

a. There is more or less general agreement that stratification divisions within society arise at first politically, and economic distinctions follow. Let us take, for example, the following hypotheses: In any but the most simply organized societies, there are at least two classes or strata, based upon political power: the rulers and the ruled (Spencer, Gumplowicz, Mosca). The first rank differentiation (outside the family) takes place when one (or more) individual(s) claims authority over the rest of society (Ferguson, Spencer); or when the authority of the father over his family is transferred to the head or chief of the tribe or village (Millar, Maine); or is the result of conflict and conquest (Gumplowicz. Mosca, Ward); or results from the subjugation of the people by a priestly

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[2] Ibid., p. 18.

caste (Comte).

b. With the further development of society, economic differentiation follows political differentiation (Ferguson, Comte, Spencer, Gumplowicz, Mosca, Ward). With conquest, the victorious warriors seize control of the land they conquer and property becomes associated with political authority (Spencer, Mosca). Conquest results in slavery, which changes over time into a free, peasant class (Millar, Comte).

c. Some writers, however, take exception to the above. Small claims that stratification takes place at first industrially rather than politically; once people have achieved some measure of economic prosperity, they try to secure their position by political action. Veblen believes that the leisure class emerges as the result of the discrimination between employments and the institution of private property. Smith and Marx maintain that classes arise with the differentiation of income into three different types, depending upon its relation to production: rent, profit and wages. Marx goes even further to insist that the state (political authority) is nothing but the instrument by which the few who control the means of production exploit the masses of the people.

d. In time political and economic rankings become stratified into a relatively durable system, and stratified positions tend to become hereditary (Comte, Marx, Spencer, Mosca, Veblen, Small, Cooley).

e. As stratification distinctions crystallize, in any type of stratification system, there are accompanying differentiations of occupation or function; the upper ranks are exempted from menial or productive labor (Veblen), and observable differences in dress, manners, style of life, and life chances develop (Spencer, Veblen, Small). With the visible differences in rank, power and style of life, there is a coinciding differentiation of prestige assigned the various strata (implied in most of the writings).

f. With the development of a highly commercial-industrial society out of a feudalistic agrarian-military regime, the old "organic" orders (or estates) are replaced by partially open classes, based upon their relationship to the mode of production: landowners, capitalists and wage laborers (Smith, Ricardo, Marx).

g. Generally speaking, there are three different types of stratification systems which have been discussed in the literature, although not always by the same terms: caste, estate and class. Caste has been referred to as a

strictly closed, hereditary system; sometimes restricted to the system of Hindu India (in much of the historical and descriptive literature, and recently Sorokin, Heberle), and at other times used in connection with any hereditary stratification system (Ward), such as the estates in Germany during the Middle Ages (Mosca) or the Negro-white distinctions in the Southern United States (Cooley, and recently the Warner School). The term estates (or "orders": sometimes called "status groups" today) is usually restricted to the stratification system of Medieval Europe, although Spencer suggests that it applies equally well to similar systems throughout the world. Class (or "rank" or "order") sometimes serves as a general term to refer to any type of stratification system (Smith, Marx sometimes, Spencer, Mosca); at other times it is applied to any but the caste system (Comte, Gumplowicz, Cooley); whereas most modern writers reserve it for a market economy society (Weber, Sorokin, Heberle).

It is noted from the above discussion that there is general agreement among the pioneer stratification theorists that the original and basic criterion for the formation, growth and function of stratified groups is either political power, or economic control, or both. Differences in

prestige, manners, style of life and life chances among the various strata arise as the result of differential ranking and control of power, property and production, rather than being themselves the determinants or the criteria of stratification distinctions. It is the lack of acceptance (or awareness) of this fact which has bedeviled the researchers in the United States because, in a highly industrialized, democratically structured (in theory and ideology, at least) society such as ours, there is a breakdown of the visible distinctions among the various classes, resulting partly from emulation and imitation, since a highly productive economy makes it possible for people of average means to live, in many ways, like the aristocratic and the wealthy (a "Sunday suit" every day; "two cars in every garage," and a college education for all), and this breakdown in the consumption aspect of class distinctions is misinterpreted by the optimistic (and the myopic) as an indication of the breakdown of the stratification system, itself. Or, for those researchers who accept the idea of a stratified American society, self-perceived and self-evaluated prestige ratings are accepted as valid and accurate indices of the class structure, a premise which is neither valid nor reliable in a society with a "classless" ideology.

Let us now examine, in greater detail, the main stream of the classical tradition of stratification theory. The origin of the classical approach, in the writings of Ferguson, Millar, Adam Smith and Ricardo, has already been discussed at some length in Chapter I in order to provide proper perspective for the writings which followed. We shall start with an interesting critique of Adam Smith by Albion Small, one of the pioneers in American sociology, in one of the first serious attempts to apply sociological theory and techniques to the analysis of a theoretical system. Then we shall turn our attention to Marx and Max Weber and a few other writers in the classical tradition.

I. ADAM SMITH: FOUNDER OF THE CLASSICAL TRADITION OF CLASS THEORY

Of Adam Smith's approach to the study of society, Small writes: "If one were to come upon The Wealth of Nations for the first time, with a knowledge of the general sociological way of looking at society, but with no knowledge of economic literature, there would be not the slightest difficulty nor hesitation about classifying the book as

an inquiry in a special field of sociology."[3]

1. A Critique of Smith

It will be remembered from our discussion in Chapter I that Smith found three "orders" of men within society: those who live by rent of land, those who live by wages of labor, and those who live by profits of stock. Smith apparently believed that these orders are natural and proper and inevitable, a view with which Marx later took violent exception. As Smith writes: "These are the three great, original and constituent orders of every civilized society, from whose revenue that of every other order is ultimately derived" (italics supplied).[4] Concerning this statement, Small has a good deal to say:

> I italicize this sentence, not because there can be profitable dissent from it as a statement of historic fact, but because Smith's present tense is apparently that of universal time. It declares what, in his opinion, is, was, and shall be. But it by no means follows that his mind would have been impenetrable by the force of subsequent events. There would certainly have arisen,

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[3]Albion W. Small, Adam Smith and Modern Sociology; A Study in the Methodology of the Social Sciences (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1907), p. 1.

[4]Smith, op. cit., p. 248.

> sooner or later, a conflict between the implications of his labor theory of the origin of wealth, and his assumption of the permanence of the existing type of social structure. I cannot imagine a man of his breadth and judicial poise persisting in his view of the finality of a given social structure, if all the light had been shed upon that view which intervening events have generated. Even the hints in the paragraph that follows contain indications that he was partially aware of possible anomalies in the workings of our institutions of landed property. It is not at all difficult to believe that if he had considered all the anomalies which are common knowledge of all who have made fairly thorough use of social information today, he might have been among those who say that private property in land justifies itself just so long, and so far, as it proves itself on the whole more serviceable to society at large than any modifications that could be introduced.[5]

In the first chapter we quoted Smith as saying that in the early and rude state of society "the whole produce of labour belongs to the labourer." Later on, speaking of labor in an "advanced state of society," Smith says: "In this state of things, the whole produce of labour does not always belong to the labourer."[6] Of this, Small writes: "As a bald statement of fact, this is literally true. Does Smith, or does he not, mean to imply that the extent to which it is true is strictly in accordance with equity? We

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[5]Small, Adam Smith and Modern Sociology, ft.n. 46, pp. 149-50.

[6]Smith, op. cit., pp. 47, 49.

can answer this question only vaguely. Smith certainly had no thought of any such radical injustice as Marx afterward alleged in this connection." Small does not believe that Smith considered there was any injustice in the system of distribution of his day. According to Small, Smith apparently "assumed that the more complicated system of production, consequent upon division of labor, automatically invented a corresponding system of distribution, in which the reward of each participant in production was assigned in strict ratio with the value of his labor in creating the product."[7]

Small points out that Smith never said in so many words that labor is the only source of wealth--he merely said that labor is the only real measure of wealth. But Small feels that Smith's language conveys the impression that "source" and "measure" amount to the same thing.[8] But a little later Smith writes: "Wages, profit, and rent, are the three original sources of all revenue as well as of all exchangeable value" (italics supplied).[9]

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[7]Small, Adam Smith and Modern Sociology, pp. 107-108.

[8]Ibid., p. 109.

[9]Smith, op. cit., pp. 30, 52.

2. Relationship between Smith and Marx

Tracing the relationship between Smith and Marx, Small writes: "In Smith's mind the claim of capital to profits appeared as evident and immediate as the claim of labor to its wage. Not quite three-quarters of a century later, Marx launched his system of social philosophy centered about absolute denial of the claim of capital to profits. Yet, as we have seen, the two men seem to have held nearly identical views of labor as the ultimate measure of right to wealth." Small goes on to ask how it is possible to account for the evolution of the classical political economy of Smith and the Marxian socialism from so nearly identical conceptions of the relation of labor to wealth. Small's answer is that Smith's views probably never approached as close to the major premise of Marx's system as it appears. Small adds: "Smith never entertained a doubt that the payment of profits to capital is as strictly and fundamentally consistent with the natural order of things as the payment of wages to labor."[10]

Small interprets the divergence of the views of Smith and Marx in terms of the society and times in which

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[10]Small, Adam Smith and Modern Sociology, p. 110.

they lived (an excellent example of the sociology of knowledge). According to Small, Smith did not feel it necessary to undertake a critique of the title of capital to profits, because in his times his attention was directed toward the productive activities of capitalists, and their consequent title to their reward. But in Marx's time it had become necessary to recognize the class cleavage between capitalists and laborers. The contrast between the two situations was so sharp, Small points out, "that it was as easy for Marx to assume that the capitalist is not a laborer, and consequently not entitled to a wage in the form of profits, or otherwise, as it was three-quarters of a century earlier for Smith to assume that the capitalist is a laborer, and therefore entitled to a wage in the form of profits." Small hastens to add that it is not true "that Marx utterly overlooked the industrial function of the capitalist. He admitted it, but then he obscured it in such a way that it has been easy for his followers to ignore it." The names of Smith and Marx have been used as labels for tendencies for which they were partly responsible, but, Small warns, "neither Smith nor Marx is justly to be charged with deliberately promulgating the extreme errors to which their theories have lent force." As a result, "Unconsciously, and doubtless

with equal intention to represent things as they are, both Smith and Marx started a fashion of pinning economic faith to a false universal. In the former case it was, 'Every capitalist deserves profits.' In the latter case it was, 'No capitalist deserves profits.'"[11]

In conclusion, Small raises a tantalizing suggestion: "If Adam Smith had introduced into economic theory a searching critique of the basis of the claims of capital to profits, Marx's economic doctrine would in all probability never have put in an appearance. If it had appeared, it could hardly, under the supposed circumstances, have been fathered by a man of Marx's intellectual power." If justice had meanwhile been done both to capital and labor in a valid theory, explaining when, why and in what proportion each deserves a share of the surplus product of the economy, "Marx might still have become a socialist, but his socialism would certainly have had a different point of detachment from orthodox economic theory."[12]

This is interesting to ponder upon, but I am reminded of the lines of T. S. Eliot:

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[11] Ibid., pp. 111-13.

[12] Ibid., p. 111.

What might have been is an abstraction
Remaining a perpetual possibility
Only in a world of speculation.[13]

The facts remain: Smith did lay the foundations for classical economics, and Marx did write the New Testament of revolutionary socialism.

II. PRELUDE TO A THEORY OF CLASS: AS DESCRIBED BY RUDOLF HEBERLE

Heberle emphasizes the fact that "The concept of class belongs to that class of concepts so frequent in the social sciences which have an origin in political volition rather than in theoretical thinking." Heberle points out what has already been indicated in Chapter I, that "the term class, in the modern connotation of a phenomenon of social stratification, first came into use during the 18th century, particularly in the French and English literature." With the disintegration of the Medieval estate system, society was no longer divided into clear, functional strata of landowning warrior-administrators, priests, burghers and peasants. It was particularly, according to Heberle, the

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[13]T. S. Eliot, Four Quartets (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1943), p. 3.

the early merger between the nobility and the wealthy merchants in England which led to the concept of class. "When the legal privileges and discriminations which defined a person's position in the estate system fell into disuse or were abolished (as in France) by the declaration of equality before the law, it became apparent that a man's position in society depended primarily on property. It was also easy to see," Heberle adds, "that it made a difference whether he owned property in land or property in capital, and even more so if he did not hold property of either and therefore had to rely for a living on the sale of his labor."

With the change in the social system in Europe, there was an accompanying change in the prevailing social philosophy, according to Heberle. Society was no longer viewed as an organism in which every occupation was considered a "God-ordained officium; instead, society was seen as an association of fundamentally competitive and even antagonistic individuals and groups held 'in awe' and peace only by the supreme power of the state." The economists, particularly Adam Smith and David Ricardo, furnished the explanation as to why property relations and the consequent division of national income into three main branches--rent, profit and wages, "were of constitutive significance for the

division of society into three major interests or classes. Madison was among the first to point out the relation between these 'interests' and the political factions or parties."

Heberle suggests that it was considered "almost axiomatic" by political thinkers at the close of the eighteenth century that the major economic interests divide "civilized" nations into different classes, and that, as a result, various factions or parties will be formed in the pursuit of class-interests. It was also generally assumed that economic class position more or less determined a person's "general position in society."

Up until about the time of Marx, according to Heberle, ideas about the nature of classes and their relation to property and to political parties remained on the level of common-sense knowledge. It was the task of Marx and Engels to refine this knowledge into a more sophisticated theory of classes and class struggle. But Heberle calls attention to the fact that Lorenz Stein has a prior claim for recognizing the relations between political ideologies, class consciousness and social movements, because at least six years before publication of the Communist Manifesto Stein had "developed the idea that Socialism and Communism were not merely new Utopias but the expression of the social and

political aspirations of the new class of the property-less industrial proletariat. It was Stein," Heberle points out, "who saw clearly and with great concern that the movement of the proletariat would culminate eventually in a 'social' revolution against which the 'political' revolutions of the past would be child's play--meaning by social revolution a total destruction of the existing and the construction of a radically different social order." The prospect which worried Stein was the seizure of power by a class incapable of governing because it lacked the experience of managing property.[14]

Heberle delineates the problem of studying and of understanding Marx--the problem which has become the bugaboo of stratification theorists ever since Marx's ideas were first presented to the world. Heberle writes: "To understand Marx we must realize that he was not very consistent in his terminology and that his class theory was never stated systematically and thus has to be reconstructed. In the reconstruction we must not rely simply on the propagandistic oversimplifications of the Communist Manifesto or on

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[14]Lorenz Stein, Der Sozialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreichs (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1st ed., 1842, 2nd ed., 1848--not translated into English).

the unfinished last chapter of Das Kapital; we have to consider the numerous passages scattered throughout his writings."[15] This I shall attempt to do in the following pages.

III. KARL MARX: REVOLUTIONIST, HISTORIAN, ECONOMIST, SOCIOLOGIST

In his writings Marx acknowledges the influence on his thinking of many earlier writers. Among these are Ferguson, Ricardo, Saint-Simon ("brilliant but erratic French critic of society, many of whose ideas bordered on socialism"),[16] and Adam Smith, all of whom were discussed in Chapter I. In addition, he was influenced considerably by the philosophic works of Bruno Bauer ("Saint Bruno," one of the "Young Hegelians"), the Marquis de Condorcet (who made "one of the first attempts scientifically to predict the future"), Ludwig Feuerbach (a "Young Hegelian"),

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[15]Heberle, "Recovery of Class Theory," pp. 19-20.

[16]These descriptive titles in parentheses are the bibliographical comments of R. Pascal, editor, The German Ideology; Parts I & III, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (New York: International Publishers, 1947), pp. 201-14. (Completed in 1846; first published in full in 1932). N.B. For more complete references to this and the works of Marx which follow, see Bibliography at end of Dissertation.

especially by G. W. F. Hegel, himself, P-H-D. d'Holbach ("French materialist philosopher"), and Max Stirner (pseud. of J. K. Schmidt, "Saint-Max," "Young-Hegelian; one of the first philosophical anarchists"). These are, perhaps, the major influences on the theoretical development of Marx.

But even more important from an action point of view are the socialistic and communistic writers who impressed Marx with the problem of man's present condition, and who inspired him with the vision to attempt the intellectual development of a new society. Among these are Francois Noel Babeuf ("an early French communist, guillotined during the French Revolution for conspiring to establish a communist social order"), Goodwin Barmby ("English Christian socialist"), August Becker ("muddle-headed communist"), Etienne Cabet ("Utopian French communist, originator of abortive communist settlements in America"), Charles Fourier ("French socialist"), Karl Gruen ("true socialist"), F-P-G. Guizot ("French reactionary statesman and historian"), Moses Hess ("one of the first Germans to popularize communistic ideas, though in a vague, often idealized form"), Georg Kuhlmann ("true socialist"), Robert Owen ("English manufacturer who attempted to organize his factory on communal lines"), Pierre-Joseph Proudhon ("French petty-

bourgeois socialist"), Thomas Spence ("English Utopian who suggested among other things a scheme for the common ownership of the land"), and Lorenz Stein ("German writer who compiled a popular and much used account of French socialism").

Of course Marx was also familiar with, and referred to, the writings of the classical political philosophers: Hobbes, Locke, Mill, Montesquieu, Thomas More, and Rousseau.

Karl Marx was all sorts of men: revolutionist, historian, economist and sociologist--indeed, Marx has been called the "true father of modern sociology."[17] In addition he was sometimes humanist, sometimes social philosopher (though he would deny it), and certainly the great catalyst not only of revolutionary socialism but also of the sociology of stratification, because Marx, more than any other man, made social scientists "class conscious."[18]

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[17]Isaiah Berlin, Karl Marx; His Life and Environment (Second edition; London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 144.

[18]It is difficult to know exactly how to evaluate the role of Engels in the Marx-Engels partnership. Engels depreciated his own role in all of his writings and in his correspondence, claiming that Marx was the genius and he the mere pupil and co-worker. But others have credited Engels with a much more positive role, claiming, for instance, that many of the ideas in the second and third volumes of Das

1. Revolutionist

Marx was, first of all, a revolutionist and this spirit permeates all of his writings. In fact, the greatest difficulty for most people, and the main reason why Marx is so little understood as a sociologist (especially, as a stratification theorist), is the constant intermixture of revolutionary views with his more objective descriptive analyses and theoretical formulations.

It was pointed out in the first chapter that the best-known work of Marx, The Communist Manifesto, has undoubtedly had the most influence upon the sociology of stratification of all of his writings. This revolutionary pamphlet has set the stage for thinking in terms of class conflict between two classes. The Manifesto begins:

Kapital were more the product of Engels' mind than Engels himself would admit. Howsoever this may be, it matters little for the present discussion, since we are more concerned here with the history of ideas than with the history of men. For this reason, and this reason alone, the following discussion will be restricted to Marx; when joint works of Marx-Engels are referred to, only Marx's name will be mentioned in the text, and of Engels' own writings, only his letters will be referred to when they relate to Marx's views. Therefore, it must be understood throughout this section that the importance of Engels in the development of the ideas discussed is not purposely being negated or forgotten--it is just that no one knows for sure how important his contribution really was.

> The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.
>
> Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

Marx recognizes the existence of not two, but several classes in times past: "In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank." In ancient Rome there were the patricians, knights, plebeians, and slaves; in the Middle Ages, the feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, and serfs, with subordinate gradations in most of these classes. Even in discussing contemporary society in 1848, Marx refers to several classes: the "remnants of absolute monarchy"; the aristocracy; the bourgeoisie: industrial capitalists and landlords; the lower middle class: small manufacturers, small tradespeople, shopkeepers, artisans and peasants; the proletariat: the modern working class; and the Lumpenproletariat: the "social scum," the "passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society."

But, Marx insists, the "epoch of the bourgeoisie" has

simplified the class antagonisms: "Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other--bourgeoisie and proletariat." This statement can only be interpreted as propaganda for the hoped-for revolution: Marx was certainly aware of the rising professional, public official, bureaucratic, and white collar groups (a hint of this in Kapital); but Marx was setting the stage for the battle-cry of the proletariat: "Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!"[19]

The inability (or unwillingness) to separate Marx, the revolutionist, from Marx, the historian and sociologist, has led to such errors as the following. Barber writes: "Marx,...who wished to emphasize the inevitability of conflict between two sharply opposed social classes, said that societies had always tended to be divided into two social classes: freemen and slaves, patricians and serfs, and,

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[19]Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, Authorized English translation (New York: International Publishers, 1948), pp. 9, 14-20, 44 (First published in 1848).

now, capitalists and proletarians" (italics mine).[20] From the above it can be seen that this is not correct. Barber's error will become more apparent as we review some of Marx's other writings. Gordon notes that in the last chapter of Capital, Marx has added a third class, the landlords, but Gordon still believes: "Nevertheless, in the vast dynamic and sprawling system of Marxist thought and interpretation, . . . this essentially twofold economic-functional description of modern classes as bourgeoisie and proletariat remains the central core of both definition and rallying cry to action."[21] At least, Gordon is half-right: "rallying cry," yes; "definition," no!

What about the class struggles? As Cuber and Kenkel so aptly put it: "Ever since Marx and Engels formulated the concept of 'class struggle,' the phrase has been bantered about with far more venom than scientific detachment. It has been, to borrow Weber's phrase, one of the words which we have used as 'swords' with which to do battle rather than as 'ploughshares to loosen the soil of contemplative thought.'"[22]

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[20]Barber, op. cit., p. 79. [21]Gordon, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[22]Cuber and Kenkel, op. cit., pp. 324-25.

According to Marx, "every form of society has been based . . . on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes" (he does not say or imply two classes).[23] It is imperative to note that Marx needed the concept of class struggles in order to explain his theory of the "economic interpretation of history" through "dialectical materialism." On the positive side, Schumpeter suggests that "the idea of making social classes and relations between them the pivots of the historical process and the conception of class culture, and so on, might prove analytically valuable, even if we refuse to accept Marx's particular theory of social classes."[24]

Barber writes: "Marxism asserts that only two kinds of economic roles are significant, those of capitalists and wage earners."[25] Marx does reduce it essentially to this for modern, bourgeois society, but he would be extremely

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[23]Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, p. 21.

[24]Joseph A. Schumpeter, "The Communist Manifesto in Sociology and Economics," Journal of Political Economy (1949), reprinted in Essays of J. A. Schumpeter, Richard V. Clemence (ed.), (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1951), p. 291.

[25]Barber, op. cit., p. 53.

naive to suggest that this was also true for precapitalistic society (and he does not!).

Finally, Marx has often been accused of ignoring the important role played by the capitalists (bourgeoisie) in the development of modern society, which is also not true. To Marx, the bourgeoisie represent a necessary step in dialectical materialism: the bourgeoisie "felled feudalism," but in so doing they "called into existence . . . the proletarians," who will use the weapons forged by the bourgeoisie to destroy them. But not only did the bourgeoisie destroy the old feudal regime: it also was a powerful creative force.

> The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground--what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?[26]

Schumpeter calls the Communist Manifesto "the prelude to the whole of Marx's later work in a sense in which this

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[26]Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, pp. 13-15.

cannot be averred of any other of his writings published before 1848." Up to 1847 Marx was "hardly an economist at all," Schumpeter opines: "it was during the 1850's that he became one, and one of the most learned ones who ever lived. . . ." But Marx's "social vision" was set by the time he wrote the Manifesto, and was to permeate all his later writings. "And the vision implied a program of research."[27]

Karl Loewith suggests a provocative explanation for Marx's interpretation of history. Loewith points out, and I agree with him, that even if we were to assume all history to be a history of class struggles, "no scientific analysis could ever infer from this that class struggle is the essential factor that 'determines' all the rest." He warns that it is impossible to verify, empirically, the concepts, bourgeoisie and proletariat, or the view of history as an ever increasing conflict between two classes, or, "least of all, the anticipation of its dramatic climax."

> It is only in Marx's "ideological" consciousness that all history is a history of class struggles, while the real driving force behind this conception is a transparent messianism which has its unconscious root in Marx's own being, even in

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[27]Schumpeter, "The Communist Manifesto," p. 295.

> his race. He was a Jew of Old Testament stature, though an emancipated Jew of the nineteenth century who felt strongly anti-religious and even anti-Semitic. It is the old Jewish messianism and prophetism--unaltered by two thousand years of economic history from handicraft to large-scale industry--and Jewish insistence on absolute righteousness which explain the idealistic basis of Marx's materialism. Though perverted into secular prognostication, the Communist Manifesto still retains the basic features of a messianic faith: "the assurance of things to be hoped for."[28]

2. Economic Interpretation of History

Marx's interpretation of history was the direct antithesis of Hegel's. With Hegel, the basic element or force in human history is the "idea" or "spirit" (geist). The essence of spirit is freedom, and the central law of the development of the spirit in human society is the increasing realization of freedom. The principle of development is the "dialectic." The spirit is constantly at war with itself; new forms arise in conflict with the old, and a new synthesis of spirit is achieved. Thus the process of "dialectics" is one of thesis--antithesis--synthesis. To Hegel the state is the supreme unit of society, and the end

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[28]Karl Loewith, Meaning in History (Phoenix Books; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 43-44.

of history is the ultimate achievement of the weltgeist, or world society. Hegel's principle is often referred to as "dialectical idealism."[29]

Marx accepted Hegel's method but not his assumptions. Marx writes: "The mystification which dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands, by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general form of working in a comprehensive and conscious manner." But, with Hegel, "it is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again, if you would discover the rational kernel within the mystical shell."[30] Marx went on to develop what is known as the principle of "dialectical materialism."

The first premise of all human history, according to Marx, is "that men must be in a position to live in order to be able to 'make history.'" Life involves eating and drinking, habitation, clothing, and other things; "The

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[29]G. W. F. Hegel, The Philosophy of History, tr. by J. Sibree (Revised edition; New York: Willey Book Company, 1944), pp. 16-79. (Consists of Hegel's university lectures delivered between 1822-1831.)

[30]Karl Marx, Preface to the second edition (1873), Capital; A Critique of Political Economy (Volume I), tr. by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (New York: The Modern Library, no date), p. 25. (First published in 1867.)

first historical act is thus the production of the means to satisfy these needs, the production of material life itself." The second aspect of history is that as soon as one need is satisfied, new needs are created. The third circumstance is that men begin to propagate their kind: the family is the first, and in the beginning, the only social relationship. The fourth aspect or "moment" of history (because all of these "have existed simultaneously since the dawn of history") is that "a certain mode of production, or industrial stage, is always combined with a certain mode of co-operation, or social stage, and this mode of co-operation is itself a 'productive force.'" Marx explains: the "mode of production" depends upon the means available; it is a definite form of human activity, and it expresses a definite "mode of life." What individuals are, therefore, depends both upon what they produce and how they produce. But the production of life is a double relationship: it is both natural and social.

Only after considering these four moments or aspects of the "fundamental historical relationships," Marx concludes, "do we find that man also possesses 'consciousness'; but, even so, not inherent, not 'pure' consciousness. From the start the 'spirit' is afflicted with the curse of being

'burdened' with matter," that is, the material manifestation of language. In the beginning, this is mere animal, or "herd-consciousness": the only thing which distinguishes men from sheep is the fact that "with him consciousness takes the place of instinct," or "his instinct is a conscious one." This "sheep-like or tribal consciousness" is further developed and extended through increased productivity, the increase of needs, and the increase of population.

The next phase of human history is the division of labor, which at first was merely "division of labour in the sexual act" [sic], then division based upon "natural predisposition," needs, accidents, and finally a division of material and mental labor. The various stages of the development of the division of labor, according to Marx, are merely different forms of ownership. The first form of ownership is tribal ownership, which corresponds to the undeveloped stage of production: hunting and fishing, "rearing of beasts," or agriculture. The social structure consists of the patriarchal family chieftains; the members of the tribe; and slaves. The second form of ownership is the ancient communal and state ownership, resulting from the union of several tribes into a city "by agreement or by conquest." A class relation develops between citizens and

slaves. Next came the development of private property, and, as in early Rome, the transformation of the peasantry into a proletariat, intermediate between propertied citizens and slaves. As is true in modern times, Marx adds, private property was concentrated in the hands of the few. The third form of ownership is feudal or estate-property, which resulted in antagonism with the towns. The division of labor first separates the industrial and commercial from agricultural labor, and then the separation of commercial from industrial labor follows. At the same time various subdivisions arise among the individuals co-operating in definite kinds of work. According to Marx, "The relative position of these individual groups is determined by the methods employed in agriculture, industry and commerce (patriarchalism, slavery, estates, classes)."[31]

The essence of Marx's economic interpretation of history is that the method by which man secures the necessities of life (the "mode of production"), together with the social relations which develop in co-operative production, constitute the economic foundation of society, from which arise the legal, political and spiritual institutions, which, in turn, give rise to man's "social consciousness." According to Marx, the process of dialectical materialism operates

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[31]Marx and Engels, The German Ideology, pp. 6-27.

as follows. At any particular time in history, the social relations of production are in harmony with a particular stage in the development of the material powers (or forces) of production--this constitutes the thesis. But with the development of the material forces of production, there comes the time when they find themselves in conflict with the relations of production (the property relations, or class relations), and the latter turn into their fetters, and hinder their further growth--this is the antithesis. This leads to the synthesis, brought about by the class revolution, which brings the social relations back into harmony with the forces of production. Very quickly, there is a transformation in the entire superstructure, and the new thesis has been accomplished. Thus the antithesis, it seems to me, is the alienation of the producers (those who are actually engaged in the productive process) from the control over the productive process, which they previously enjoyed. Those who have come into control of the productive process are no longer producers, and are not concerned about the natural development of the powers of production, but seek to corrupt them to their own personal advantage. This leads inevitably, according to Marx, to the class conflict and the new synthesis. With each cycle of the dialectical

process, the powers of production advance to a higher stage of development. This process continues, until it ends in the perfected communist, classless society.

The best exegesis of this doctrine in Marx's own words appears in his Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1859).

> The general conclusion at which I arrived and which, once reached, continued to serve as the leading thread in my studies, may be briefly summed up as follows: In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society--the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or--what is but a legal expression for the same thing--with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then comes the period of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of

> natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic--in short ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must rather be explained from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social forces of production and the relations of production. No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society. Therefore, mankind always takes up only such problems as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the problem itself arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation. In broad outlines we can designate the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal, and the modern bourgeois methods of production as so many epochs in the progress of the economic formation of society. The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production--antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of one arising from conditions surrounding the life of individuals in society; at the same time the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. This social formation constitutes, therefore, the closing chapter of the prehistoric stage of human society.[32]

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[32]Karl Marx, Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, tr. by N. I. Stone (Second edition; New York: The International Library Publishing Co., 1904), pp. 11-13 (First published in 1859).

Regarding the above exposition, Schumpeter has this to say: "In the first place, it is a working hypothesis. . . . As such, it works sometimes extremely well, e.g., in the explanation of the political and cultural changes that came upon bourgeois society in the course of the nineteenth century; sometimes not at all, e.g., in the explanation of the emergence of feudal domains in western Europe in the seventh century--where the 'relations of production' between the various classes of people were imposed by the political (military) organization of the conquering Teutonic tribes." In the second place, Schumpeter reminds us, we must not forget that Marx "had an enemy to fight and an obstacle to overcome that barred the way toward an acceptable theory of history--the doctrine of the 'general progress of the human mind' that made a purely intellectual process the causally important independent variable in social history," the doctrine of Condorcet, Comte and Mill. In the third place, Schumpeter concludes, the Marxist doctrine that "it is not men's conscious thought which determines their modes of existence but their modes of social existence which determine their conscious thought" anticipates much of later psychology, and is "a major contribution toward the theory of economic and political behavior" and "a big step away

from uncritical individualism."[33]

Perhaps the major criticism of Marx's interpretation of history is the fact that it places all the emphasis upon the material aspect of production. As I have said before, I think the explanation for this is to be found in Marx's revolutionary orientation--his was a "call to action": clear and precise. But as for Marx's theoretical position, I believe the best interpretation is to be found in a letter written by Engels to J. Bloch in 1890:

> According to the materialist conception of history the determining element ("Moment"--element in the dialectical process of becoming--Ed. Eng. ed.) in history is ultimately the production and reproduction in real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. If therefore somebody twists this into the statement that the economic element is the only determining one, he transforms it into a meaningless, abstract and absurd phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure--political forms of the class struggle and its consequences, constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc.--forms of law--and then even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the combatants: political, legal, philosophical theories, religious ideas and their further development into systems of dogma--also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form. There is an interaction of all these elements, in which, amid

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[33]Schumpeter, "The Communist Manifesto," pp. 288-89.

> all the endless host of accidents (i.e., of things and events whose inner connection is so remote or so impossible to prove that we regard it as absent and can neglect it), the economic movement finally asserts itself as necessary. Otherwise the application of the theory to any period of history one chose would be easier than the solution of a simple equation of the first degree.[34]

Engels recognized that both he and Marx had been partly responsible for the misunderstanding resulting from the emphasis which they placed upon the economic factor in the course of history, and it is interesting to note that Engels criticizes later Marxists for going further in the direction of economic determinism than had he and Marx.

> Marx and I are ourselves partly to blame for the fact that younger writers sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it. We had to emphasise this main principle in opposition to our adversaries, who denied it, and we had not always the time, the place or the opportunity to allow the other elements involved in the interaction to come into their rights. But when it was a case of presenting a section of history, that is, of a practical application, the thing was different and there no error was possible. Unfortunately, however, it happens only too often that people think they have fully understood a theory and can apply it without more ado from the moment they have mastered its main principles, and those even not always correctly. And I cannot exempt many of the more recent

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[34]Frederick [sic] Engels, Letter to J. Bloch, London, 21 September, 1890, in Selected Correspondence; 1846-1895; Karl Marx and Frederick [sic] Engels, tr. by Dona Torr (New York: International Publishers, 1942), p. 475.

> "Marxists" from this reproach, for the most wonderful rubbish has been produced from this quarter too.[35]

3. Labor Theory of Value

We are not primarily concerned here with Marx's economic theory, as such, but it is important to note the consistency in Marx's thinking, in that the factor of productive labor, which receives the position of major importance in his revolutionary and sociological writings, is also the basis of his economic theory. According to Marx, "A use-value, or useful article . . . has value only because human labour in the abstract has been embodied or materialised in it. . . . That which determines the magnitude of the value of any article is the amount of labour socially necessary, or the labour-time socially necessary for its production."[36] Note that Marx says "socially necessary" and not "technologically necessary"!

Marx, like Smith, does not believe that labor is the source of all value. In the Critique of the Gotha Programme, Marx writes: "Labour is not the source of all

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[35]Ibid., p. 477. See also: Engels' letter to H. Starkenburg, London, 25 January, 1894, pp. 516-19.

[36]Marx, Capital (Volume I), pp. 45-46.

wealth. Nature is just as much the source of use values (and it is surely of such that material wealth consists!) as labour, which itself is only the manifestation of a natural force, human labour power."[37]

4. Class: Description and Theory

Regarding his own role in the development of class theory, Marx writes:

> And now as to myself, no credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes in modern society nor yet the struggle between them. Long before me bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle and bourgeois economists the economic anatomy of the classes. What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with particular, historic phases in the development of production; (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society.[38]

Marx sees the origin of classes in the identity of

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[37]Karl Marx, Critique of the Gotha Programme (Written in 1875; first published by Engels in the Neue Zeit in 1891), in Karl Marx; Selected Works, edited by V. Adoratsky (New York: International Publishers, no date), Volume II, p. 555.

[38]Karl Marx, Letter to Weydemeyer, London, 5 March, 1852, in Selected Correspondence, p. 57.

common interests. He writes: "In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that divide their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of the other classes, and put them in hostile contrast to the latter, they form a class. In so far as there is merely a local interconnection among these small peasants," and I am sure this would apply to industrial workers, as well, "and the identity of their interests begets no unity, no national union and no political organisation, they do not form a class."[39]

It will be remembered that Schumpeter suggested that Marx's "vision implied a program of research." The application of the theory is found especially in Marx's many writings on the class struggles in France and Germany.

a. Descriptive Studies: Class Struggles in France. In The Class Struggles in France, Marx traces the history of the events from the July, 1830 revolution to the abolition of the General Franchise in 1850. After the July revolution, the "Bourgeois monarchy" was established under Louis

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[39]Karl Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (Third edition; New York: International Publishers, no date), p. 109 (First published in 1852).

Philippe, with the "financial aristocracy" in control: the "bankers, kings of the stock exchange, railroad kings, owners of coal and iron mines and of forests, a part of the land-owning element allied with them." The real industrial bourgeoisie constituted part of the official opposition--it was represented in the Chambers as a minority. The petty bourgeoisie "in all its gradations," the peasant class and the proletariat were entirely denied the exercise of political power.

With the February 1848 revolution, Louis Philippe was overthrown; from then until May 4, according to Marx, marked the "Prologue of the Revolution." The Provisional Government reflected in its composition the different parties that had shared in the victory; it was a compromise among antagonistic interests. Its majority was composed of representatives of the big and petty bourgeoisie; the working class had only two representatives. But the proletariat demanded and dictated "the republic" to the Provisional Government. Suddenly, Marx writes, "all the classes of French society were . . . projected within the circle of political power." Side by side with the financial aristocracy were admitted the great landowners, liberated from the "political nullity" forced on them by the July revolution. The "bourgeois

monarchy, surrounded by republican institutions" was replaced by the "bourgeois republic, surrounded by social institutions," such as those which were intended to provide work for all citizens, and to improve the condition of the working classes.

But the French working class was still unable to carry through its own revolution. According to Marx, "The development of the industrial proletariat is upon the whole predicated upon the development of the industrial bourgeoisie," and the industrial bourgeoisie did not yet rule France.

On May 4 the Republic was established, based upon the political reconstruction and reenforcement of the bourgeois society, and the proletariat lost everything it had been working for. The Paris insurrection of June 22 marked the beginning of the revolution--this was "the first great battle . . . fought between the two classes that split modern society."

I will not carry this discussion any further, because this illustrates quite dramatically the contradiction between Marx as an historian and Marx as a revolutionist. Throughout his descriptive accounts he is forced, by the circumstances, to refer to many classes: royalty, financial aristocracy, "upper bourgeoisie," industrial

bourgeoisie, "smaller capitalists," the clergy, petty bourgeoisie, the boutique (small shop), the army class, the farmer class, the peasant class, the proletariat, and the Lumpenproletariat. But as soon as Marx sounds the "battle-cry" of the revolution, all of these antagonistic groups with their conflicting interests suddenly become fused into "the two classes that split modern society."[40]

In The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Marx explains that during the reign of Napoleon the bourgeoisie was split into "two great interests"--landed property and capital, each of which sought "to restore its own supremacy and the subordination of the other." An interesting description is his account of Bonaparte's "Society of December 10" (1849), formed out of the lumpenproletariat of Paris: "Alongside decayed roués (rakes) with doubtful means of subsistence and of doubtful origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jail-birds, escaped galley-slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, lazzaroni (the lumpenproletariat of Naples), pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers,

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[40]Karl Marx, The Class Struggles in France; 1848-1850, tr. by Henry Kuhn (New York: New York Labor News Company, 1924), pp. 33-72 (First published in Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Hamburg, 1850).

maquereaux (procurers), brothel-keepers, porters, literati, organ-grinders, rag-pickers, knife-grinders, tinkers, beggars, in short the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass thrown hither and thither, which the French term la Bohème."[41]

b. Descriptive Studies: Class Structure in Germany, 1848. Perhaps Marx's best descriptive account of classes is contained in Revolution and Counter-Revolution. I have attempted to diagram Marx's description, as follows:

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[41]Karl Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, pp. 41, 65.

Class Structure in Germany, 1848[42]

	Country	Town
	The Monarchy	
	36 Princes	
	Governmental Bureaucracy	
I Nobility	**Feudal nobility** Considered 1st "Order," officially Deprived of political privileges to control the princes Furnished higher Gov't officials Almost exclusively officered the army Held complete supremacy over their peasantry Exempt from taxes	
II Middle Classes	**Peasantry** a) Gross and Mittel-Bauern More wealthy farmers Proprietors of more or less extensive farms	**Bourgeoisie** Large capitalists, traders and manufacturers By far not as wealthy and concentrated as that of France or England

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[42]Prepared from: Karl Marx, Revolution and Counter-Revolution; or, Germany in 1848, ed. by Eleanor Marx Aveling (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1920), pp. 4-11 (First published as articles in the New York Tribune, 1851-1852). According to V. Adoratsky, Editor, Karl Marx; Selected Works, correspondence between Marx and Engels "makes it clear" that these articles were written by Engels with Marx collaborating (New York: International Publishers, no date. Volume II, p. 39). If this be true, Marx must have approved them before he would allow them to be published in his name.

Class Structure in Germany, 1848 (Continued)

	Peasantry	
	b) Small free-holders Owned property but highly mortgaged	Small trading and shopkeeping class Exceedingly numerous
III "The Great Mass of the Nation"	c) Feudal tenants Paid rent in cash or labor	Proletariat Industrial class; working people As far behind that of England and France as the German bourgeoisie is behind the bourgeoisie of those countries
	d) Agricultural laborers Lived and died poor The "slaves of their employers"	Paupers

It is apparent from this diagram that Marx recognized at least eight classes in Germany in 1848, possibly even nine (if he considered the paupers as constituting a separate class). Marx points out that the industrial development, and the control of national affairs by the bourgeoisie, had not by 1848 reached the development in Germany which had existed for some time in England and France. Germany presented the confusing scene of a country which was still, in many ways, a hold-over from Medieval feudalism, with the monarchy, the princes, the nobility and the peasantry, and yet of a society which was, at the same time, rapidly developing into a modern, industrial economic system. Consequently, the contemporary struggle in Germany was between the bourgeoisie, on the one hand, and the monarchy, nobility and petty bourgeoisie, on the other. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx explains that in Germany the Communists actively support the bourgeoisie in their struggle against their enemies, so that as soon as the bourgeoisie have established their supremacy, they (the Communists) may take immediate advantage of the situation and use the very weapons forged by the bourgeoisie

to destroy them.[43]

c. Marx's Theory of Class. That Marx had it in mind to write a comprehensive theory of class structure is apparent from his unfinished notes. Those (like Gordon) who fail to give Marx credit for the fragment in Capital (Volume III, last chapter) seem to forget that when Marx died in 1883 only Volume I of his projected three-volume work had been completed and published, and that Volume II was completed, edited and published later by Engels (as Volumes II and III), and Marx's Volume III has never appeared in print as a result of Engels' death in 1895 (Karl Kautsky, who undertook the task of completing Volume III gave it up and published his own elaboration of Marx's notes in three volumes under the title, Theories of Surplus-value).

Marx had, however, given a clue back in 1857 (not published until 1903) as to what was to appear later in Capital in an apparently seldom-read paragraph in his "Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy," when he wrote an outline for "the Method of Political Economy":

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[43]Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, pp. 43-44.

> The order of treatment must manifestly be as follows: first, the general abstract definitions which are more or less applicable to all forms of society, but in the sense indicated above. Second, the categories which go to make up the inner organization of bourgeois society and constitute the foundations of the principal classes; capital, wage-labor, landed property; their mutual relations; city and country; the three great social classes, the exchange between them; circulation, credit (private). Third, the organization of bourgeois society in the form of a state, considered in relation to itself; the "unproductive" classes; taxes; public debts; public credit; population; colonies; emigration. Fourth, the international organization of production; international division of labor; international exchange; import and export; rate of exchange. Fifth, the world market and crises. (Italics mine).[44]

Unfortunately, not only for the purpose of settling the controversy over what Marx meant and what he did not mean, but also for the sake of having the products of his genius available for our own mental stimulation and growth, the best development of Marx's theory of class which is available is the unfinished last chapter of Capital, Volume III (Engels' arrangement). This chapter is pertinent to our analysis and I shall therefore reproduce it in its entirety.

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[44]Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Appendix, "Introduction to the Critique of Political Economy," p. 305 (Written in 1857; first published by Karl Kautsky in the Neue Zeit in 1903).

The owners of mere labor-power, the owners of capital, and the landlords, whose respective sources of income are wages, profit and ground-rent, in other words, wage laborers, capitalists and landlords, form the three great classes of modern society resting upon the capitalist mode of production.

In England, modern society is indisputably developed most highly and classically in its economic structure. Nevertheless the stratification of classes does not appear in its pure form, even there. Middle and transition stages obliterate even here all definite boundaries, although much less in the rural districts than in the cities. However, this is immaterial for our analysis. We have seen that the continual tendency and law of development of capitalist production is to separate the means of production more and more from labor, and to concentrate the scattered means of production more and more in large groups, thereby transforming labor into wage labor and the means of production into capital. In keeping with this tendency we have, on the other hand, the independent separation of private land from capital and labor, or the transformation of all property in land into a form of landed property corresponding to the capitalist mode of production.

The first question to be answered is this: What constitutes a class? And this follows naturally from another question, namely: What constitutes wage laborers, capitalists and landlords into three great social classes?

At first glance it might seem that the identity of their revenues and their sources of revenue does that. They are three great social groups, whose component elements, the individuals forming them, live on wages, profit and ground-rent, or by the utilization of their labor-power, their capital, and their private land.

However, from this point of view physicians and officials would also form two classes, for they

> belong to two distinct social groups, and in each group the resources of the members flow from the same source. (Translation corrected by Rudolf Heberle). The same would also be true of the infinite dissipation of interests and positions created by the social division of labor among laborers, capitalists and landlords. For instance, the landlords are divided into owners of vineyards, farms, forests, mines, fisheries.
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> (Here the manuscript ends.)[45]

It is apparent that Marx was on the verge of developing a comprehensive theory of class, and it is unfortunate that this section was never finished. But it is obvious from what he wrote that Marx did recognize the developing professional and public official groups (and quite possibly the "white collar" group as a whole), and he realized that, for analytical as well as descriptive purposes, his three broad classes needed to be subdivided according to a more narrow and more specific range of productive (economic) interests.

Marx was also aware of the increasing separation of

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[45]Karl Marx, Capital; A Critique of Political Economy. Volume III: The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole, Edited (and completed) by Frederick [sic] Engels, tr. by Ernest Untermann (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1909), Chapter LII, "The Classes," pp. 1031-32 (First published in 1894). Note the use of the term "stratification" in this 1909 translation, four years after Small had used the term. The German original, however, is "Klassengliederung": "class organization" or "class structure."

management from ownership in industrial production, but he considered the managers and superintendents as part of productive labor, which is directly opposed to my understanding that classes represent different locations in the power structure of society (see Chapter IV). Marx writes:

> The labor of superintendence and management arising out of the antagonistic character and rule of capital over labor, which all modes of production based on class antagonisms have in common with the capitalist mode, is directly and inseparably connected, also under the capitalist system, with those productive functions, which all combined social labor assigns to individuals as their special tasks. The wages of an epitropos, or régisseur, as he used to be called in feudal France, are entirely differentiated from the profit and assumes the form of wages for skilled labor, whenever the business is operated on a sufficiently large scale to warrant paying such a manager, although our industrial capitalists do not "attend to affairs of state or study philosophy" for all that.
>
> That not the industrial capitalists, but the industrial managers are "the soul of our industrial system," has already been remarked by Mr. Ure. . . .
>
> The capitalist mode of production itself has brought matters to such a point, that the labor of superintendence, entirely separated from the ownership of capital, walks the streets. It is, therefore, no longer necessary for the capitalist performs the labor of superintendence himself [sic]. . . .[46]

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[46] Ibid., pp. 454-55.

The idea that managers are a part of productive labor, and are "the soul of our industrial system," is crucial to Marx's theory of the classless, propertyless society, in that, in such a society the managers must take over the duties and responsibilities originally "belonging" to the owners of the tools of production (hence the important role of managers in the Soviet Union today).

5. Class Consciousness

No discussion of Marx's theory of class would be complete without inclusion of the concepts "class consciousness" and "false consciousness." Most writers on stratification, whether they discuss Marx's theories in detail or not, at least make some reference to his contributions on these concepts. Reissman says that Marx "was the first to give class consciousness a major place in class theory."[47] And yet when one studies the literature he is surprised to find that few if any source references are ever given for any of Marx's opinions on class consciousness. Most of the references that are given turn out, upon

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[47]Reissman, op. cit., p. 270. I think it is interesting to note that Morris Ginsberg, in his article on "Class Consciousness" in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences does not even mention Marx.

examination, to be discussions related to the concept but not specific formulations as the writer often implies.

For example, in their article on "Karl Marx' Theory of Social Classes," Bendix and Lipset give exact source references to every proposition of Marx's which they discuss, except class consciousness. They claim that "Marx specified a number of variables" facilitating the process of class solidarity, among which are the "Growth of class-consciousness in the sense that the members of the class have a feeling of solidarity and understanding of their historic role," and the "Establishment of a political organization resulting from the economic structure, the historical situation and maturation of class-consciousness." The authors give no source reference for these statements and, although I believe they are correctly inferred from Marx's writings, I have been unable to discover where Marx ever "specified" such a set of variables. In conclusion, the authors suggest that "Marx felt able to predict the inevitable development of class-consciousness." Here again no reference is given, and I could not find that Marx ever

made such a definite statement.[48]

Both Barber and Reissman give extended treatments of Marx's preoccupation with class consciousness, but neither writer gives one single reference from Marx's works to back up their statements. Dahrendorf makes one reference to "theoretical class-consciousness" from the German edition of Das Kapital (New edition, 1953), but I was unable to locate it in the English translation.[49] Venable refers to the "development of working class consciousness" through the outbursts of machine-wrecking, and gives a reference from Capital, which, upon checking, fails to support Venable's conclusions (Venable must have made his inference from some other source of Marx's--not given).[50]

Why are all the writers so specific when it comes to what Marx meant by class consciousness, and so vague when it is a matter of giving source references? The conclusion

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[48]Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Karl Marx' Theory of Social Classes," in Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status and Power, pp. 26-35.

[49]Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, translated, revised and expanded by the author (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1959), p. 17 (First published in German in 1957).

[50]Vernon Venable, Human Nature: The Marxian View (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), p. 165.

which I am forced to draw, after carefully searching the primary and secondary sources, is that Marx never clearly formulated or developed the concepts, class consciousness and false consciousness, although they are implied throughout his writings, and have been expounded and expanded by his disciples. I succeeded in finding only one actual reference to the term, class-consciousness in the English translations of Marx's works (and this was an incidental reference),[51] and one reference to "false consciousness" in a letter written by Engels.[52] It appears that class consciousness is one of the most significant and one of the least-clearly formulated of Marx's concepts.

I think the clue as to what is meant by class consciousness when attributed to Marx must be sought in his clear and precise discussion of "social consciousness." It has been demonstrated above that, according to Marx, social consciousness arises out of the legal, political and spiritual institutions which, in turn, develop out of the economic foundation of society (the mode of production plus

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[51]Marx, Preface to the second edition, Capital, Vol. I, p. 20.

[52]Frederick [sic] Engels, Letter to Mehring, London, 14 July, 1893, in Selected Correspondence, p. 511.

the social relations). Social consciousness is thus an internalized reflection of the economic basis of society by its members. Classes do not arise until the means of production have become alienated from the producers; that is, when those who actually produce the necessities of life are no longer in control of the means of production. Classes are formed on the basis of their relationship to the mode of production: those classes (who comprise a minority) who own and control the means of production, and those classes (the vast majority) who are actually engaged in production.

Class consciousness, then, must be composed of several elements: an awareness of the actual class structure of the society in which one lives, plus a recognition of and an identity with one's own class; but, more than that, an awareness of the true basis of the class structure in the relationship of the class members to the means of production; and, further, an awareness of the basis of actual or potential class conflicts in the antagonism between the mode of production and the social relations, or property (class) relations. Marx indicates, in the one reference I found in Capital, that "class-consciousness" may be applied to the bourgeoisie as well as to the

proletariat. Thus class consciousness serves to "define the situation" for the members of any class. From the point of view of the dialectical process, however, the class-consciousness of the proletariat necessarily includes an awareness that the antithesis within the economic foundation of society has been reached; thus the class consciousness operates as a psychological and social motivation to bring about the needed synthesis--the revolution.

Here the problem arises as to whether the class struggle (the revolution) is a conscious attempt on the part of the laborers to bring about the transformation of society, or whether it is an unconscious effort--the forces of history imposing themselves unconsciously upon the behavior of the people. Marx is not clear on this point: he says the latter in his discussion of the dialectical process and elsewhere, but he also states the former in other writings.

In the Preface to the Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (quoted above), Marx says that at a certain stage of development the material forces of production come in conflict with the property relations, and then comes the social revolution. Marx is very careful to point out that a distinction must always be made between the

material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which occurs with precision (according to the dialectical forces of history), and the ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. It is apparent that to Marx the consciousness of the class struggle follows--not precedes, the action.

An example of this is given in Marx's account of the Class Struggles in France, when he writes: "A class wherein the revolutionary interests of society are concentrated, as soon as it has risen, immediately finds in its own condition the content and the material for its revolutionary activity: to strike down enemies, to resort to measures dictated by the struggle--the consequences of its own deeds drive it ahead. It does not indulge in theoretic investigations of its own task" (italics mine).[53] In the German Ideology Marx says: "This contradiction between the productive forces and the form of intercourse,[54] which . . . has occurred several times in past history, . . . necessarily on each occasion burst out in a revolution, taking

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[53]Marx, The Class Struggles in France, p. 47.

[54]"Commercial intercourse," or "intercourse based on economic needs"--R. Pascal, editor, The German Ideology.

on at the same time various subsidiary forms, such as all-embracing collisions, collisions of various classes, contradiction of consciousness, battle of ideas, etc., political conflict, etc." Marx points out that "From a narrow point of view one may isolate one of these subsidiary forms and consider it as the basis of these revolutions; and this is all the more easy as the individuals who started the revolutions made illusions about their own activity according to their degree of culture and the stage of historical development" (italics mine).[55]

As a result of this relegation of consciousness to a secondary role in history, we find that Marx's followers deny the importance of the individual in the historical process--there are no communist "heroes"--men are propelled by the invisible forces of dialectics, and the revolution of the proletariat occurs automatically and inevitably. But this is not quite consistent with Marx's interpretation of the role the individual is called upon to play in the unfolding of history. According to Marx, "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves,

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[55]Marx and Engels, The German Ideology, p. 74.

but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living."[56]

Engels elaborated upon this thesis in two letters written after Marx's death. In 1890 Engels wrote: "We make our own history, but in the first place under very definite presuppositions and conditions. Among these the economic ones are finally decisive. But the political, etc., ones, and indeed even the traditions which haunt human minds, also play a part, although not the decisive one" (italics mine). Engels then attempts to clarify the relationship between individual will and the unconscious forces of history.

> In the second place, however, history makes itself in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between many individual wills, of which each again has been made what it is by a host of particular conditions of life. Thus there are innumerable intersecting forces, an infinite series of parallelograms of forces which give rise to one resultant--the historical event. This again may itself be viewed as the product of a power which, taken as a whole, works unconsciously and without volition. For what each individual wills is obstructed by everyone else, and what emerges is something that no one willed. Thus past history proceeds in the manner

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[56]Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, p. 13.

> of a natural process and is also essentially subject to the same laws of movement. But from the fact that individual wills--of which each desires what he is impelled to by his physical constitution and external, in the last resort economic, circumstances (either his own personal circumstances or those of society in general)--do not attain what they want, but are merged into a collective mean, a common resultant, it must not be concluded that their value = 0. On the contrary, each contributes to the resultant and is to this degree involved in it.[57]

Four years later Engels wrote: "Men make their history themselves, but not as yet with a collective will or according to a collective plan or even in a definitely defined, given society. Their efforts clash, and for that very reason all such societies are governed by necessity, which is supplemented by and appears under the forms of accident. The necessity which here asserts itself amidst all accident is again ultimately economic necessity. This is where the so-called great men come in for treatment." Engels then goes on to give an excellent interpretation of history in terms of the sociology of knowledge.

> That such and such a man and precisely that man arises at that particular time in that given country is of course pure accident. But cut him out and there will be a demand for a substitute,

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[57]Engels, Letter to J. Bloch, London, 21 September, 1890, in Selected Correspondence, pp. 475-77.

> and this substitute will be found, good or bad, but in the long run he will be found. That Napoleon, just that particular Corsican, should have been the military dictator whom the French Republic, exhausted by its own war, had rendered necessary, was an accident; but that, if a Napoleon had been lacking, another would have filled the place, is proved by the fact that the man has always been found as soon as he became necessary: Caesar, Augustus, Cromwell, etc. While Marx discovered the materialist conception of history, Thierry, Mignet, Guizot, and all the English historians up to 1850 are the proof that it was being striven for, and the discovery of the same conception by Morgan proves that the time was ripe for it and that indeed it had to be discovered.[58]

I go along with Engels on all except his insistence upon the inevitability of the emergence of the man who is needed, when he is needed, to fulfill the destiny of history. This means, of course, that I disagree with Marx's and Engels' basic proposition of the inevitability and inflexibility of the dialectical process (as I do with Hegel's and any other theory which does not give much more consideration to the influence of individual will in the shaping of history--as Aristotle pointed out, the mean is better than either extreme position). Toynbee has demonstrated, quite dramatically, what happens to a society when it is unable to provide the leaders who can meet the

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[58]Engels, Letter to H. Starkenburg, London, 25 January, 1894, in Selected Correspondence, p. 518.

challenge with the appropriate response, when needed.[59]

Marx's emphasis upon dialectical materialism has also caused considerable misunderstanding among non-Marxian writers. Barber, for example, assumes, first of all, that Marx's "explicit theory allowed little if any scope for the influence of ideas on action."[60] But this is not true. Marx explicitly states that as soon as there has arisen a division of mental and material labor, "consciousness can really flatter itself that it is something other than consciousness of existing practice, that it is really conceiving something without conceiving something real; from now on consciousness is in a position to emancipate itself from the world and to proceed to the formation of 'pure' theory, theology, philosophy, ethics, etc." As a result of this division of labor, the "three moments, the forces of production, the state of society, and consciousness, can and must come into contradiction with one another, because . . . intellectual and material activity . . . devolve on different individuals." Marx clarifies this

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[59]Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, Abridgement of Volumes I-VI by D. C. Somervell (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), passim.

[60]Barber, op. cit., p. 188.

point: "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. the class, which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force," to which "the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject. . . ." But the important thing to recognize, according to Marx, is that the ideas of the ruling class cannot be detached from the ruling class itself and given an independent existence, as Hegel has done.[61] Finally, Marx's entire lifework was an explicit treatise based upon the implicit assumption of the important role of ideas (and men) in the unfolding of history.

Not only did Marx recognize the role of ideas in history, but he realized that ideas as well as ideologies can modify (if not determine) the economic foundation of society. Engels attempts to clarify this point in two of his letters. In the letter to J. Bloch (quoted above), Engels says that "even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the combatants: political, legal, philosophical theories, religious ideas and their

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[61]Marx and Engels, The German Ideology, pp. 20-21, 39-43.

further development into systems of dogma--also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining (italics mine) their form." In another letter Engels writes: "The reflection of economic relations as legal principles is necessarily also a topsy turvy one; it happens without the person who is acting being conscious of it; the jurist imagines he is operating with a priori principles, whereas they are really only economic reflexes; so everything is upside down. And it seems to me obvious that this inversion, which, so long as it remains unrecognised (italics mine), forms what we call ideological conception, reacts in its turn upon the economic basis and may, within certain limits, modify it."[62]

Now, let us swing over to the other extreme in the interpretation of Marx. Lukacs believes that for Marx, class consciousness is "the realization by the proletariat as a class group of its 'true' historical role." Class consciousness thereby acquires "an organizational form based upon collective awareness and identification." Marx

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[62]Frederick [sic] Engels, Letter to Conrad Schmidt, London, 27 October, 1890, in Selected Correspondence, p. 482.

asserts, according to Lukacs, that "Only the consciousness of the proletariat can show the way out of the capitalist crisis . . . It (the proletariat) must become a class for itself led on by the necessity of the class struggle."[63]

Marx gives firm support to this interpretation of Lukacs in The Civil War in France when he explains the rise of the Paris Commune on March 18, 1871. Marx quotes the Central Committee in its manifesto of March 18, when it said: "The proletarians of Paris, amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs. . . . They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power." In a beautiful piece of prose, Marx explains the orientation of the Paris Commune. "The working class did not expect miracles from the Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce par decret du peuple. They know that in order to work out their own emancipation, and along with

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[63]Georg Lukacs, Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein (Berlin: Der Malik Verlag, 1923), esp. pp. 67-93. (Not available in English). See: Reissman, op. cit., p. 272.

it that higher form to which present society is irresistibly tending by its own economical agencies, they will have to pass through long struggles, through a series of historic processes, transforming circumstances and men. They have no ideals to realise, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant. In the full consciousness of their historic mission (italics mine), and with the heroic resolve to act up to it, the working class can afford to smile at the coarse invective of the gentlemen's gentlemen with the pen and inkhorn, and at the didactic patronage of well-wishing bourgeois-doctrinaires, pouring forth their ignorant platitudes and sectarian crotchets in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility."[64]

To his criticism cited above, Barber adds that Marx "nevertheless knew that men's knowledge and ideologies about social class structures had a great influence on their behavior." Certainly--this has been demonstrated in the preceding paragraphs. In discussing class consciousness, Barber says that "Marx saw that men not only were often

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[64]Karl Marx, The Civil War in France (New York: International Publishers, 1940), pp. 54, 61-62. (Three "Addresses" of the General Council, 1870-1871).

ignorant of the actual social stratification system of their society" (Marx meant much more than that by class consciousness), "but that they also were influenced by what he called (italics mine) 'false consciousness,' that is, by various ideological misconceptions about the nature of that system" (Barber does not say where Marx made this explicit). Barber adds that "even though Marx was convinced that ultimately the stratification system of a society was created by historical-social determinants over which men had no control, he nevertheless argued that in the short run those who favored the 'inevitable' revolution must change men's ideas if they wished to see that revolution occur." It is the task of the socialist vanguard "to teach men about the actual structure of the stratification system in capitalist society and to convince them of its basic injustice, in short, to change their ideas."[65]

Support for this interpretation is found in the Communist Manifesto. In explaining the support the Communists gave the bourgeoisie in Germany in their fight against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy and the petty bourgeoisie, Marx says: "But they (the Communists)

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[65]Barber, op. cit., pp. 188-89.

never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin."[66] Of course Marx's entire lifework was an attempt to instill into the minds of the Communist vanguard the necessity and the doctrines to teach the proletariat concerning their historical destiny.

Barber evidences one more serious misunderstanding of the concept of class consciousness. Barber writes that, according to Marx, the task of the socialist vanguard was to convince the proletariat of the "basic injustice" of the stratification system in capitalist society. Once men knew how their lives were determined by the economic relations of production, "once they were no longer afflicted by 'false consciousness,' they would see the terrible injustice

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[66]Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, pp. 43-44.

the class system imposed on them and would then bring about the socialist revolution as speedily as possible."[67] Marx pointed out again and again that a simple awareness of gross injustice in one's own position in society is not sufficient to unite men into a common bond and to give direction to their action in accordance with the principles of the historical processes. Marx gave several illustrations to show how men, in rebellion against gross injustices within an estate or a class system, had time after time revolted against the ruling forces, but all their attempts had resulted in eventual failure whenever the existing productive forces had not yet developed to their full potential capacity, the antithesis within the economic foundation of society had not yet reached its climax, and history was not yet ready for the reconstruction of society, or whenever the producing class was not yet aware of its historical destiny and, led by "false prophets," sought only better and fairer treatment within the old social system.

I think that the answer out of this maze of apparent contradictions is simpler than it seems. Marx was a firm

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[67]Barber, op. cit., p. 189.

believer in the inevitability of the dialectical process--it was, perhaps, for Marx a messianic faith: "the assurance of things to be hoped for." Past history, according to Marx, has been a succession of dialectical cycles--theses, antitheses and syntheses. During each cycle the antithesis has been the alienation of control over the means of production from the producers, with the development of opposing classes, and class "consciousness" has operated as an "unconscious" motivating force to impel the producing classes to revolt and bring about the new synthesis. Each instance of this recurring cycle has represented one stage in the growth process of man's mode of production--from hunting and fishing, to the "rearing of beasts," to agriculture, to trade and industry, and finally to large-scale commerce and manufacturing. Only now, with the full development of industrial-commercial society, and the complete dominance of the bourgeoisie, is history about to end (or "begin" as Marx would say); only now with the antithesis in the economic foundation of society reaching its climax in England, in France, and in Germany, has the time arrived for the final revolution and the establishment of the perfect, Communist society.

In the operation of dialectical materialism, Marx

recognized not only the predominance of the economic factors, but also the importance of social, psychological and political factors as well. The economic foundation of society is composed not only of the economic means of production but also the social relations which develop in the productive process. Psychological factors are recognized by Marx in the discussion of interests, consciousness, "understanding," etc. And Marx recognized that, in the final analysis, the class conflict is a political one. In discussing the rise of classes in England, Marx writes: "Economic conditions had first transformed the mass of the people of the country into workers. The combination of capital has created for this mass a common situation, common interests. This mass is thus already a class as against capital, but not yet for itself. In the struggle, of which we have noted only a few phases, this mass becomes united, and constitutes itself as a class for itself. The interests it defends become class interests. But the struggle of class against class is a political struggle."[68] In a letter written in 1871, Marx points out that "every

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[68]Karl Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, official translation (Second French and German Editions; Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, no date), p. 195 (First published in 1847).

movement in which the working class comes out as a class against the ruling classes and attempts to force them by pressure from without is a political movement."[69]

It is important to note that in Marx's thinking, the synthesis cannot be successfully undertaken until the antithesis has reached its climax: "No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed" (Preface to Contribution, quoted above). Marx illustrates this hypothesis in Class Struggles in France when he points out that the proletariat were unable in 1848 to carry out the revolution because the bourgeoisie (the opposing class) had not yet reached its full development. Until the right moment has arrived, according to Marx, false prophets will come along with their ideologies and their false hopes, but they will achieve nothing.

Marx's best declaration of the above propositions is contained in the Poverty of Philosophy.

> Just as the economists are the scientific representatives of the bourgeois class, so the Socialists and the Communists are the theoreticians of the proletarian class. So long as the

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[69]Karl Marx, Letter to Bolte, London, 23 November, 1871, in Selected Correspondence, p. 318.

> proletariat is not yet sufficiently developed to constitute itself as a class, and consequently so long as the struggle itself of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie has not yet assumed a political character, and the productive forces are not yet sufficiently developed in the bosom of the bourgeoisie itself to enable us to catch a glimpse of the material conditions necessary for the emancipation of the proletariat and for the formation of a new society, these theoreticians are merely utopians who, to meet the wants of the oppressed classes, improvise systems and go in search of a regenerating science. But in the measure that history moves forward, and with it the struggle of the proletariat assumes clearer outlines, they no longer need to seek science in their minds; they have only to take note of what is happening before their eyes and to become its mouthpiece. So long as they look for science and merely make systems, so long as they are at the beginning of the struggle, they see in poverty nothing but poverty, without seeing in it the revolutionary, subversive side, which will overthrow the old society. From this moment, science, which is a product of the historical movement, has associated itself consciously with it, has ceased to be doctrinaire and has become revolutionary.[70]

Ideology, according to Engels, "is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, indeed, but with a false consciousness. The real motives impelling him remain unknown to him, otherwise it would not be an ideological process at all. Hence he imagines false or apparent

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[70]Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, pp. 140-41.

motives."[71] Here then is the key to the concept of false consciousness--it is not simply an incorrect perception or awareness of the true state of affairs--it is an awareness of the existing conditions (and may be quite accurate), but it is an awareness which does not recognize its true source or origin and therefore cannot properly evaluate its significance for action, or perceive the future course which it must take. This explains why contemporary sociologists are so hard-pressed to try to understand this concept and utilize it in empirical research, and why all contemporary research is sterile which attempts to test the hypothesis of the "consciousness of class" or "false consciousness about class" of individuals in contemporary American society by asking respondends, "To what social class do you belong?"

In summarizing his conception of history, Marx concludes with the following four points. (1) In the development of the material forces of production, a stage is reached at which productive forces and means of intercourse are no longer productive but destructive forces (machinery

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[71]Frederick [sic] Engels, Letter to Mehring, London, 14 July, 1893, in Selected Correspondence, p. 511.

and money), and a class arises "which has to bear all the burdens of society without enjoying its advantages," and which is forced into antagonism against all other classes. From this class, which constitutes the majority of the members of society, there "emanates the consciousness of the necessity of a fundamental revolution, the communist consciousness, which may, of course, arise among the other classes too through the contemplation of the situation of this class" (italics mine). (2) Every revolution is directed against a ruling class, which derives its power from property, and which exercises this power in the form of the State. (3) In all previous revolutions the mode of activity remained unscathed and the only consequence was a change in the distribution of labor. But the communistic revolution "is directed against the preceding mode of activity, does away with labour, and abolishes the rule of all classes with the classes themselves. . . ." (4) "Both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a revolution; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other

way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew."[72] Continuing Loewith's analysis a bit further, this sounds like the "purification ceremony," or baptism: necessary for the "rebirth."

Thus we have gone the full round: from Marx, the revolutionist, to Marx, the historian, economist, and sociologist, and now back to revolutionist. I hope that the above will help to clarify some of the confusion and misunderstanding which surrounds Marx. Once we peel off the

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[72]Marx and Engels, The German Ideology, pp. 68-69. I believe that Heberle is incorrect on one point here. According to Heberle, "Marx does not seem to have seen the fundamental fact that distinguishes (most of) the medieval conflicts between estates and groups within estates from the modern class struggles. As F. Toennies, Max Weber and others have pointed out, the medieval uprisings did not aim at a radically new social order but at changes in the distribution of political power within the given and accepted social order. On the other hand it is well known that Marx attributed to the coming proletarian revolution an eschatological character" ("Recovery of Class Theory," p. 20). This last statement is certainly correct, but the first statement is not supported by the quotation from the German Ideology, given above. Marx specifically states that "in all previous revolutions the mode of activity remained unscathed and the only consequence was a change in the distribution of labor." In Class Struggles in France, Marx points out that previous revolutions and class conflicts have arisen between different classes seeking political power, or have aimed at achieving social and political "justice." But only the "communistic revolution" is directed at the establishment of an entirely new social order.

revolutionary, and visionary propagandistic statements and principles, Marx stands out as genius, scholar and penetrating observer of human society.

6. Implications of Marx's Writings for Contemporary Stratification Theory and Research

Not accepting, as I cannot, and do not, Marx's belief in the inevitability of the process of dialectical materialism, nor the necessity and desirability as well as the unavoidability of the proletarian revolution, nor especially the faith in and hope for the future establishment of the communistic society, I can still find much in the historical analyses and theoretical writings of Marx which are of value to stratification sociologists today, aside from the very important fact that Marx alerted mankind to the serious problem of class conflict and the ever-potential danger of revolution. If he had done nothing else, Marx contributed significantly to the scientific theory of human behavior by demonstrating quite dramatically that ideas and ideologies cannot be removed from real-live men, and made to stand apart as realities in and of themselves, with the power of shaping men's destinies and directing the course of history, as it were, from above.

Marx showed that it is men who live, and men who act, and that ideas and ideologies arise out of human interaction, and not in any other way.

But, to bring this critique directly to the purposes of this dissertation: Marx demonstrated that the basis and source of class stratification is to be sought and found in the economic relations of society, specifically, in the relationship of men to the economic mode of production and to property. But economic relations are social relations--the economic basis of society is composed of the mode of production plus the social relations which arise in the act of production. In addition, the family is the basis of society--the family is the first social group, and it is basically from one's family relationship that he derives his class position. And, finally, Marx demonstrates that class activities and class conflicts are political activities and political conflicts. The study of classes and class conflicts cannot properly be isolated from the study of political movements and political parties, or vice versa.

Nor does Marx neglect the psychological aspect of stratification. Classes are formed on the basis of common and recognized interests, which, of course, arise out of the relationship to production and property. Social

consciousness develops out of human action--it is a psychological internalization of the economic and social bases of man's existence. Thus it follows that class consciousness is an awareness on the part of the individual of the existing class structure in which he lives, a recognition of his own class membership and an identity with others within the same class, but, of much greater importance, it means an understanding of the basis for the class differentiation within the economic foundation of society, and of the true source of class conflicts therein. Applying this concept to my personal apprehension of class, I would add that class consciousness involves the correct evaluation by an individual of the roles, the rights, duties and obligations of members of his own class, as well as those of other classes. Therefore, in evaluating existing class conflicts, every class should be fair and rational in judging the rights and interests of other classes as well as of its own.

It follows from the above that false consciousness is not merely a lack of understanding of the class structure in which one lives, and of one's own class membership, but it involves a false awareness--a misconception about one's own class position and class interests, as well as

the rights and interests of other classes, and a misconception of the origin and source of classes and class conflicts.

It should by now be apparent that an accurate measure of classes is not to be obtained by throwing together all farmers (rich landlords alongside poor subsistence and tenant farmers), all managers, proprietors and officials (President of General Motors together with the proprietor of a small filling station and the Governor of a State), all professional persons (staff attorneys for Ford Motor Company and the AFL-CIO, alongside small-town divorce lawyers, physicians, dentists and college professors), etc. Nor should the occupants of such broad occupational categories be expected to exhibit a consistent class consciousness and class ideology, although many researchers have attempted empirically to verify or disprove such an hypothesis.

Probably the most generally accepted and used occupational index is that of Alba M. Edwards, of the United States Bureau of the Census, in which occupations are grouped as follows:

1. Professional persons
2. Proprietors, managers, and officials

a. Farmers (owners and tenants)
b. Wholesale and retail dealers
c. Other proprietors, managers, and officials

3. Clerks and kindred workers

4. Skilled workers and foremen

5. Semiskilled workers

6. Unskilled workers
   a. Farm laborers
   b. Laborers, except farm
   c. Servant classes

Of this index, Edwards writes: "It is evident that each of these groups represents not only a major segment of the Nation's labor force, but, also, a large population group with a somewhat distinct standard of life, economically, and, to a considerable extent, intellectually and socially. In some measure, also, each group has characteristic interests and convictions as to numerous public questions--social, economic, and political. Each of them is thus a really distinct and highly significant social-economic group."[73] Unfortunately, perhaps, Edwards' generalization has not been and cannot be verified empirically, because, for example, it is a well-known fact that all

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[73]Alba M. Edwards, Comparative Occupation Statistics for the United States, 1870-1940 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 176, 179.

professional persons (or most of them) do not vote Democratic, or Republican; do not take the same stand on foreign and domestic policies; do not have the same attitudes toward farmers, or industrial workers; are not affiliated within a common political party or Congressional pressure group; etc. We are more likely to find conflicting interests and purposes between the professional occupations, and, at the same time, some unity and agreement within the membership of each particular profession, such as physicians, college professors, architects, etc., but even here there is need for further subdivision of class interests within a profession: for example, "lawyers," as a group, have as many different class interests as the number of class groups which they represent.

Other researchers have developed somewhat similar occupational indexes as that of Edwards, but they are all subject to the same criticism which has been given the Edwards index.[74]

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[74]For a summary and discussion of the occupational indexes of Edwards, W. G. Hoskins, F. L. Goodenough and J. E. Anderson (Minnesota Occupational Scale), Richard Centers, W. Lloyd Warner (Index of Status Characteristics), F. Stuart Chapin (Social Status Scale), C. C. North and Paul K. Hatt (National Opinion Research Center occupational scale), R. O. Beckman, G. S. Counts (occupational prestige

Especially sterile and futile are those attempts to determine or to measure classes or class consciousness (or false consciousness) by asking a selected sample of respondents such questions as, "Are there classes in America today?" or, "To what social class do you belong?" All that such studies ever result in is a set of verbalizations made by selected citizens to representatives of their State Universities, or of public opinion agencies, as to what they think (or are forced by the framing of the question to say they think), or think they ought to think, or are expected by the interviewer to think about classes in a society which holds dear a classless ideology, but is, at the same time, always referring to upper classes, middle classes, working classes, lower classes, etc. This also accounts for the contradictions in the findings and conclusions of various investigators.

Let us take as an example the studies of Richard Centers and Neal Gross. Centers forced his respondents to identify themselves with one of four specified classes: middle, lower, working, or upper. In 1945 all but two per

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scale), and others, see: Barber, op. cit., chapter 8; Caplow, op. cit., chapter 2; Gordon, op. cit., chapter 7; Bendix and Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power, passim. Also see Chapter III of this dissertation.

cent (and all but three per cent in 1946) obligingly selected one of the four categories. In each study, over half identified with the working class, and five per cent or less with the upper or lower class. In conclusion, Centers boasted: "The answers will convincingly dispel any doubt that Americans are class conscious, and quite as quickly quell any glib assertion like Fortune's 'America is Middle Class.'"[75]

In 1950 Gross undertook a study in Minneapolis (in which I personally participated as a student interviewer),[76] in which he attempted to determine the extent of discrepancy in responses when respondents are given both open-ended

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[75]Centers, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

[76]Study conducted during school year 1950-1951, sometimes jokingly referred to by the students as the "Gross Exploitation"! Inexperienced undergraduate and graduate students were used exclusively as interviewers; experienced students were used as supervisors and technical assistants. Satisfactory completion of the interview assignment was considered as part of the requirements of the course. Many people would question the advisability of such research techniques. However, the problem of assuring accuracy in the gathering of the data is not restricted to inexperienced interviewers. For example, I was interviewed, a few years ago, by an experienced representative of a large, reputable public opinion agency, and I deliberately (though subtly, I hope) hesitated in answering certain questions, or said that I had no opinion, and she was very cooperative in supplying me with the answers.

questions and a predetermined set of class categories from which to choose their own class membership. Gross found that when four class categories were given, the responses were approximately the same as in Centers' study. But when only three categories were given (U-M-L), 76 per cent identified with the middle class. In answer to the open-ended questions, he found that three times as many of the respondents identified with the middle (31 per cent) as with the working class (11 per cent), and "over one-third of the respondents replied that they did not know what class they were in, that there were no social classes or that they did not belong to any social class." From this Gross decided that "the conclusions the investigator emerges with, using the U-M-L or the U-M-W-L forced choice questions, are at great variance with the conclusions that emerge from the use of an open-ended class identification question." Gross concludes that "the open-ended question approach may be more appropriate in research dealing with class consciousness and class identification than pre-determined class categories techniques." But, which is more to the point, he suggests "the necessity of a more critical analysis of the conceptual definitions of class consciousness and class identifications and the research

operations by which they are tapped."[77]

Taking our cue from Marx, classes, class consciousness (and false consciousness) must be sought, determined and measured objectively--in human behavior. Classes must be measured in terms of actual occupational and economic group membership, in property ownership and control, in income and the source of income, and in political affiliation. Class consciousness must be sought and measured objectively, by economic, social and political behavior, or if subjective devices are used, they must go much deeper than simple class-membership or identification questions, as demonstrated above. They must subtly delve down into the individual's actual conceptions and misconceptions of the many variables of class consciousness which have been described above.

This sounds like a tough assignment. It is! But if all the time and energy which have been wasted in diverse and unrelated studies of attitudes and opinions, and in collating occupational statistics in broad and heterogeneous categories, had been spent in a systematic and

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[77]Neal Gross, "Social Class Identification in the Urban Community," American Sociological Review, 18 (1953), 398-404.

unified effort to get at the real basis and nature of class and class consciousness, we would be much nearer our goal today.

IV. WERNER SOMBART: CAPITALISM AND THE BOURGEOIS

After Marx there appeared at least three major contributions to special aspects of stratification theory in the writings of Mosca, Veblen and Sombart. Mosca's analysis of "the ruling class" and Veblen's treatise on "the leisure class" have already been discussed in Chapter I.

In 1913 appeared the German edition of Sombart's Der Bourgeois, which contains not only a detailed analysis of the bourgeoisie as a class, but also presents an excellent historical and theoretical account of capitalism and the capitalist spirit.[78] Sombart summarizes his own

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[78]In an earlier work, Sombart defined "social class" as "a social group, the individuals of which are the representatives of some economic system." By "economic system," he meant "a given economic order, or an economic condition of things, which is characterized by one or more prominent economic principles." He clarified these terms as follows: "Any economic order is, in my view, the sum-total of all legal and moral ideas which regulate production and distribution for the time being; and economic principles is the name I give to that chain of motives which influences the economic activities of individuals." Sombart distinguished four classes in modern society:

"1. The nobility and gentry, or feudal party, which

theory of the nature and historical development of the bourgeois as follows:

> All historic development is the result of the natural capacities of the different national units that have appeared in European history since the break-up of the Roman Empire, and of their peculiar combination. In each group from its earliest history we find two mighty forces at work; the one is the greed of gold, the other the spirit of enterprise. Very soon the two united, and from the union there sprang up in the home of each nation a number of strong organisms, economic and other, including the modern state itself. With the state the conception of religious dissent made its appearance, and gave a powerful impetus to the growth of the capitalist spirit. But this conception again arose from one other characteristic of the national consciousness among European peoples--their strong religiosity (italics mine).

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corresponds roughly to the feudal aristocracy and which in Germany is called the Junker party. These are the representatives of a feudal system of land holding or, in other words, of a patriarchal manorial system.

"2. The lower middle class, which I have characterized as the class of manual labourers in the broadest sense, stands for a system of industry organized on traditional lines and much like the guild system in the Middle Ages.

"3. The bourgeoisie or middle class par excellence, which is the representative of the capitalist system; and the opposite pole to it, the antithesis of the bourgeoisie:

"4. The proletariat."

--Werner Sombart, Socialism and the Social Movement, tr. by M. Epstein (Sixth edition; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1909), pp. 1-2 (First published in 1896).

Sombart later published a work on Das Proletariat (1906), which, so far as I know, is not available in English.

According to Sombart, the same forces led men into conquests and enterprises in new lands abroad, where they discovered undreamed-of supplies of precious metals. This only accentuated the greed for gold and the spirit of enterprise. Colonies were established which "breathed the capitalist spirit." Sombart continues:

> The spirit of enterprise was first active in the upper classes, and consequently force played a great part in it. But gradually it also spread among the broad masses, who strove to become rich not by force but by the peaceful methods of trafficking; and it is clear that economical habits and careful calculations must have helped them in the process.
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> All peoples witnessed the gradual rise in their midst of the peaceful middle-class traders, who in the course of time became an influential body; but in some the commercial spirit seemed to be more intense from the very first, and brought the mercantile interests to the fore more speedily. Such folk were the Etruscans, the Frisians, and the Jews; and their influence increased as the psychology of the capitalist undertaker tended to become more and more that of the middle-class trader.

At first, Sombart writes, there were similar developments in the national life of peoples; gradually the capitalist undertaker "united within himself" the qualities of hero, trader, and middle-class respectable citizen. But as the capitalistic system reached full development, it was dominated more and more by middle-class traders, and the heroic element gradually disappeared. Among the forces

which helped to accomplish this result are the rise of the military order and the influence of morality and religion, which helped to maintain peace, and the intermarrying of nobility and gentry with urban peoples, giving the latter the predominance. Sombart declares that "heroic qualities are rare enough, and any institution that desires to become popular and widely accepted must base itself on those instincts and capacities possessed by the masses."

Sombart distinguishes two stages in the growth of the capitalist spirit. The first extended until about the end of the eighteenth century, the second from that time to the present day. In the first "capitalist epoch," Sombart writes, the spirit of capitalism was restricted somewhat by custom and morals, especially as taught by Christian sects. In the second epoch, the capitalist spirit enjoyed much more liberty. Sombart continues:

> Now, capitalist enterprise, aiming as it does at profits, contains within itself tendencies that favour the growth of unlimited and unprincipled undertakings. Five factors combined to help the development of these tendencies: (1) Natural Science, born of the Germanic-Romance spirit, which was the mother of modern inventions; (2) Speculation, born of the Jewish spirit. Modern technical progress allied with modern speculation provided the necessary forms for the limitless efforts of capitalist enterprise. The process was still more accelerated by (3) the general Jewish influence which since the 17th century has made

> itself felt in the economic life of Europe. . . . The Jews were the catalytic substance in the rise of modern capitalism. (4) As religious feeling became weaker and weaker among the Christian peoples, the old bonds of morality and tradition that had held capitalism in check in its earliest stages gave way, until (5) they were completely removed when through emigration the most capable business types settled in new lands.

"And so capitalism grew and grew and grew," Sombart concludes. "To-day it is like a mighty giant striding through the land, treading down all that stands in its path." Then he asks the critical question, "What will its future be?" Some people believe that capitalism is destroying both man and nature. Although some believe that capitalism can be overcome by appealing to ethical principles, Sombart sees no hope of this. But he does not believe that the "raging" of the "giant Capitalism" will last for ever. Sombart believes that there are elements within the very nature of the capitalist spirit that will cause its eventual break-up and decay. He thinks that "The spirit of enterprise (and with it naturally the capitalist spirit) dies when men sink into the comfortable ease of a life dependent on dividends; or, on the other hand, when they are allured by the will-o'-the-wisps of society and fashion." Furthermore, Sombart predicts a

decline in population when the excess of births over deaths disappears as a result of civilization (which, he says, always results in a decrease in the birth rate), and he predicts that the decreasing population will weaken capitalism just as the population growth during the nineteenth century was the cause of its mighty progress during that period. Sombart analyzes the "spirit of undertaking," in terms of the conqueror, the organiser, and the trader. He discusses the six fundamental types of capitalist undertakings: the freebooter (in military undertakings, piracy, voyages of discovery, and trading companies), the landlord, the civil servant, the speculator, the trader, and the craftsman.

Sombart describes the "middle-class virtues," using as an example the writings of Benjamin Franklin, in whose scheme "the 'bourgeois' view of life received its final and highest expression." Franklin compiled a list of the basic "virtues," and set himself out to perfect them in himself: temperance, silence, order, resolution, frugality, industry, sincerity, justice, moderation, cleanliness, tranquillity, chastity, humility.

In one of his especially insightful passages, I feel, Sombart compares the "values" of the modern business man

with the "four elementary 'values'" of the child, and finds them to be identical! These values are: physical bigness, quick movement, novelty, and sense of power.

Sombart sums up the nature of the modern business man as follows: "The modern business man is appraised only in accordance with his success. Now success means to overtake others; to do more, to achieve more, to possess more than others; in a word, to be great. The pursuit of success holds out the same unlimited possibilities as the chase of profits; the one complements the other."[79]

V. MAX WEBER: SYSTEMATIC THEORY OF STRATIFICATION

Max Weber started where Marx left off, and developed the first systematic and comprehensive theory of stratification in the classical tradition. But, as was the case with Marx, Weber died before his major work in sociology was completed or published, and, also like Marx, unfortunately, the chapter in which Weber started to elaborate and expand

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[79]Werner Sombart, The Quintessence of Capitalism; A Study of the History and Psychology of the Modern Business Man, tr. and ed. by M. Epstein (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1915), pp. 51-56, 63-102, 117-18, 176-77, 354-59 (Der Bourgeois: first published in 1913).

his theory of stratification remains unfinished.

We shall not devote as much space to Weber as we did to Marx, not because Weber's contributions are not as significant, but because they are not widely scattered and full of apparent contradictions, as are Marx's; because Weber has brought his stratification views together in a few essays which are readily accessible in translation, and because Weber's total writings embrace practically every aspect of sociology. Therefore, we shall restrict this discussion to Weber's basic stratification theory, which may be found in translation in two chapters in two works.[80]

1. Difficulties to Understanding Weber

Weber's theory of class, like that of Marx, is little understood and much misunderstood among American sociologists.

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[80] From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, tr. and ed. by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), chapter VII, "Class, Status, Party," pp. 180-95 (hereafter referred to as Gerth and Mills).

Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, tr. by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, ed. by Talcott Parsons (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, copyright 1947), chapter IV, "Social Stratification and Class Structure," pp. 424-29 (hereafter referred to as Parsons, since he was entirely responsible for the translation of this chapter).

The difficulties to understanding Weber's stratification theory arise from three sources: (a) the difficulty of most American sociologists (including myself!) in reading German adequately; (b) the failure to read carefully what Weber says in his two translated chapters on stratification, and to compare these with other chapters, especially the section on parties (Parsons, pp. 407-12); (c) the inadequate translation of certain important words and phrases from the German.

Somehow it has become the custom among American sociologists to attribute to Weber the discovery of three "dimensions" of stratification. For example: Cuber and Kenkel claim that "Weber distinguished among at least three stratifications in a society: (1) the economic order ('classes'), that is, the relation of persons to the production and distribution of goods and services; (2) the prestigial or honorific order ('social order'); and (3) the power structure ('legal order'). A given person (or family) at any given time has at least these three, not one, relative positions in a society."[81] Kahl says that "Weber made a crucial distinction between three orders of stratification:

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[81]Cuber and Kenkel, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

class, status, and party." Kahl adds that "Weber took Marx's notion of class and broke it into three components."[82] According to Gordon, Weber "perceptively pointed out . . . (a) that there are several dimensions of stratification which must be kept analytically distinct, and (b) that a person's positions in these separate dimensions are not necessarily identical and are frequently disparate. Weber distinguishes the dimensions of economic position, social status, and 'power.'"[83] Mayer analyzes the "Dimensions of Social Stratification in Modern Society," in terms of "the economic dimension," or class; "status," which he defines as "the differentiation of prestige and deference among individuals and groups in a society"; and "power." He says in a footnote that this "exposition" is "based essentially" on Weber's essay in Gerth and Mills.[84]

This interpretation of Weber is wrong, and the error apparently results from reading the Gerth and Mills translation, and not reading it carefully. Weber's first essay on stratification (incidentally, Weber does not use the

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[82]Kahl, op. cit., pp. 5-8.

[83]Gordon, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

[84]Mayer, op. cit., pp. 22-27, 80.

term, "stratification"), translated by Gerth and Mills, was an attempt to set forth the broad, general principles which he had in mind and to relate them to power. Weber entitled this section, "Machtverteilung innerhalb der Gemeinschaft: Klassen, Staende, Parteien," or "Distribution of Power within the Community: Classes, Estates, Parties."[85] But Gerth and Mills translate this simply as: "Class, Status, Party" (GM: 180).[86] The error in thinking of these as "three dimensions of stratification" is threefold: first, by Staende Weber meant estates (or "status groups," using status as Maine used it, and not to mean prestige); secondly, classes and estates are not intended to be dimensions of stratification, but rather types of stratification systems; thirdly, Weber did not designate "party" or "power" as a stratification variable: parties are voluntary associations within corporate groups (Weber

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[85]Max Weber, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft; Grundriss der Verstehenden Soziologie, ed. by Johannes Winckelmann (Fourth edition; Tuebingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1956), vol. 2, pp. 531-40 (First published posthumously in 1921).

[86]In order to avoid voluminous footnotes, references to the sources will be abbreviated in the text as follows: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft will be referenced by volume and page number: (I: 177) or (II: 531). Gerth and Mills: (GM: 180). Parsons: (P: 407).

makes this clear in his longer discussion of parties: P: 407), and power may be related to (or associated with) all three phenomena: classes, estates or parties. Gerth and Mills make this clear in their translation: "'classes,' 'status groups,' and 'parties' are phenomena of the distribution of power within a community" (GM: 181).

Weber's unfinished chapter, in which he began an expansion and elaboration of the concepts, estate and class, was entitled, "Staende und Klassen" (I: 177-80). Parsons translates this as, "Social Stratification and Class Structure" (P: 424). Most of the chapter is devoted to classes. But the last section represents the beginning of a clarification of the concept estate; Parsons heads this section with the title, "Social Strata and Their Status" (P: 428; Weber has no heading). Parsons translates "Stand" (estate) as "social 'stratum' stand" (P: 428). It must have been this passage which led Barber to say: "A social class, or a 'stratum' as Max Weber called it. . . ."[87] I could not find any place where Weber called a social class a stratum.

But let us examine the problem of translation a

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[87]Barber, op. cit., p. 73.

little more carefully. The German term Stand means literally, standing-place, state, station, profession, class, rank, etc. The plural, Staende refers to the "estates of the realm," or the estates of the Medieval feudal system.[88] Thus it follows that in a discussion of Staende, the singular may also refer to "an estate." The adjective staendische (as in the case of the English adjectival ending, -ish; kitten: kittenish), means "estate-like." But there are three possible interpretations for the adjective. For example: "kittenish" may refer to the attributes of a kitten, (a) in a kitten, (b) in a person who acts like a kitten, (c) the abstracted characteristics of a kitten as a general type of action. In the same way staendische in the writings of Weber has three meanings, which have been overlooked by the translators: (a) the characteristics of an estate, or descriptive of an estate: translate as estate; (b) estate-like characteristics found outside the estate system: translate as as-if estate; Heberle calls this quasi-estate; (c) the abstracted estate characteristics--the estate as a theoretical model, or type of social

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[88]Source for translations: Karl Breul, Cassell's New German and English Dictionary (Revised edition; New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1939).

organization: translate as estate or estate type. The only clue to what Weber means in each case is the particular context in which the term is used. To a German this offers no difficulty (as in our example of kittenish, which might bother a person just learning English), but to the translator it necessarily raises a serious problem, especially in such a complex work as Weber's. It is apparent in looking over the German text that Weber sometimes (but not always) encloses these concepts in quotation marks when he is referring to quasi- or theoretical type stratification systems.

As examples of the three ways in which Weber uses the term staendische, let us take three statements from Gerth and Mills. (a) Weber refers to the staendischer Gliederung (estate organization, or structure) and its effect in hindering the free development of the market, giving examples from Hellenic cities, ancient Rome and the Middle Ages (II: 538). Gerth and Mills translate this as "status order" (GM: 192-93)--it might have been better had they said "status group order" or "estate order." (b) Weber refers to the "staendische" Gliederung (quasi-estate organization) in the United States based upon conventional styles of life (II: 535). Gerth and Mills translate this

as "stratification by 'status groups'" (GM: 188), which is wrong, unless the quotation marks succeed in conveying Weber's meaning. (c) In what is apparently a theoretical discussion, Weber speaks of the staendische Gliederung (estate type of organization) and its relation to material goods and honor (II: 537). Gerth and Mills translate this as "stratification by status" (GM: 190), which is not wrong but is easily misunderstood.

In general, Gerth and Mills translate Stand as "status group," Staende as "status groups," and staendische as "status," which is correct, although we have seen how easily "status" is corrupted to mean "prestige." In one passage Gerth and Mills translate "Klassenlage" (class-type position) as "'class situation,'" and "staendische Lage" (estate-type position) as "'status situation'" (II: 534; GM: 186-87), which is all right, but, again, may be interpreted as "prestige situation."

But Parsons' translations are more confusing, especially in the last section on estates. Parsons translates Stand as "stratum" or "social stratum," and Staende as "strata" or "social strata" (I: 179-80; P: 428-29), which is not correct. Parsons apparently is trying to merge Weber's theoretical type, estate, with the concept

of class, or he is confusing estates (Staende) with social classes (soziale Klassen), which Weber discusses in the preceding section. In any case, the last section in Parsons is practically unintelligible. Evidently Parsons translates Lage as "status," which is correct (Lage may also be translated as position, situation, stratum). Parsons translates Klassenlage (class-type position) as "class status" (which is correct); but he translates staendische Lage (estate-type position) most of the time as "social status," once as "status with respect to social stratification," and once as "stratificatory status" (I: 179-80; P: 428), which is both incorrect and confusing. Parsons does, however, discuss some of the difficulties of translating Stand in a footnote (P: 347-48).

It is hoped that the above will serve to clarify some of the problems involved in understanding Weber, and that we can now get down to a discussion of Weber's theory of stratification.

2. Weber's Theory of Stratification

It is imperative at the outset to understand that Weber conceptualizes three distinct types, or theoretical models of stratification systems, caste, estate and class,

and he considers these sometimes in the abstract--as theoretical types, while at other times he applies them to the discussion of actual social systems--existing in the past or the present. Since stratification systems are but one aspect of the distribution of power in a community, Weber also discusses in the same context, parties--voluntary associations of men within a corporate group, and their relation to stratification systems (classes and estates), as well as to power (II: 531-40; GM: 180-95).

Weber distinguishes between three different "orders" within a society: the economic order (Wirtschaftsordnung), the social order (soziale Ordnung), and the legal order (Rechtsordnung), but these are not intended as stratification variables. It is possible to confuse the three orders with classes, status groups (estates) and parties, respectively, if one does not read Weber carefully. To Weber, however, the three orders refer to the organization of three different institutional aspects or devices of society: the distribution and consumption of economic goods and services, the distribution of social honor, and the system of law, and each order is related in a different way to the three types of stratification systems, and each order as well as each stratification type is related in a

different way to power (II: 531; GM: 180-81). Weber does however point out at the end of this chapter that "classes" have their "true home" in the "economic order," and "estates" in the "social order," hence in the sphere of the distribution of "honor," from which they influence one another, and they also influence the legal order and are influenced by it. But "parties," Weber clearly states, reside primarily in the "house of power": their action is oriented toward acquiring social "power" (II: 539), but he does not say or imply that parties belong "in the legal order."

a. Power (Macht). Weber defines "power" as "the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action" (GM: 180).[89]

b. The legal order (Rechtsordnung). In another passage in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Weber defines law (Recht) as the "probability that an order (Ordnung) will be upheld by a specific staff of men who will use physical or psychical compulsion with the intention of obtaining

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[89](II: 531). See also: (I: 28, and P: 152).

conformity with the order, or of inflicting sanctions for infringement of it" (GM: 180).[90] According to Weber, "every legal order (not only that of the state), through its structure directly affects the distribution of power within its respective community, whether it be economic power or any other kind" (II: 531; tr. by J.D.K.).[91]

c. The economic order (Wirtschaftsordnung). Weber says that "for us the economic order is simply the manner in which economic goods and services are distributed and used . . . 'Economically conditioned' power is naturally not identical with 'power' in general. On the contrary, the formation of economic power may be the consequence of power based upon other grounds. Man does not seek power only for economic gain, but power may be valued 'for its own sake'" (II: 531).

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[90](I: 17). See also: (P: 127).

[91]For the sake of brevity, I shall indicate the source of each translation in the text as follows. When reference to one of the translated works appears alone, for example: (GM: 180), or (P: 407), I am quoting from the translation indicated. But when reference to the German edition appears alone, for example: (I: 177), or (II: 531), I am giving my own original translation.

d. The social order (soziale Ordnung). Weber writes: "The manner in which social 'honor' is distributed within a community among typical groups participating therein, we shall call the 'social order.' . . . Very frequently the striving for power is conditioned by the social 'honor' which it brings. But not all power brings social honor. The typical American Boss, as well as the typical large speculator, consciously gives up all claim to social honor. Quite generally, 'pure' economic power, particularly 'naked' money power, is not at all a recognized basis for social 'honor.' And, on the other hand, power is not the only basis for social honor. But, to turn it around, social honor (prestige) may be the basis for power, even the economic sort, and very frequently has been. Just as the legal order can guarantee power, so also can it guarantee honor. But it is not, at least normally, their primary source, but even here a superaddition which raises the chance of their possession, but it cannot always assure them" (II: 531).

Weber points out that the social order and the economic order have a similar relation to the legal order, but these are not identical. "But the social order is naturally conditioned in great measure through the economic

order, and also influences it back" (II: 531).

Having finished his introductory comments regarding power and the three "orders," Weber then introduces the main theme. "Now," he writes, "classes," "estates," (and "castes," which he discusses later in the section), and "parties" (although not a form of stratification), are all "phenomena of the distribution of power within a community" (II: 531).

3. Classes (Klassen)

Weber writes: "'Classes' are not communities (Gemeinschaften) in the sense adhered to here, but they represent only possible (and frequent) bases for community action. We wish to speak of a 'class' when (1) a number of people hold in common a specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as (2) this component is represented entirely through economic interests in the possession of goods and in acquisition, and, to be sure, (3) under the conditions of the (goods or labor) markets ('class situation')" (II: 531).

Weber bases his class theory upon that of Marx. Weber writes: "'Property' and 'lack of property' are, therefore, the basic categories of all class situations" (GM: 182).

But Weber carries Marx's theory one step further by demonstrating that in modern society it is not property, per se, but the market-relations which determine class situation. Weber continues: "class situations are further differentiated: on the one hand, according to the kind of property that is usable for returns; and, on the other hand, according to the kind of services that can be offered in the market" (GM: 182). Thus, Weber concludes, "Class situation" is ultimately "market situation."

Weber emphasizes the fact that it is only economic interests, and actually only those interests related to the "market," which create "classes," but he points out that the concept of "class-interest" is nonetheless an ambiguous one. Holding the class situation and other circumstances constant, the direction in which the individual worker may pursue his interests will vary greatly, according to whether he is qualified for his task at a high, average or low degree. Similarly, the direction of interests may vary as a result of whether or not a communal action ("oriented to the feeling of the actors that they belong together") has developed out of the class situation from which the individual in question may or may not expect certain results. Weber notes that the development

of societal or communal action out of a common class situation is certainly not a universal phenomenon (GM: 183).

Weber demonstrates that the effects of the class situation may be restricted to simply similar reactions or "mass actions," but they may not even have this result. Sometimes only "an amorphous communal action emerges." Weber shows that no matter how different the life chances of different class members may be, this fact alone does not necessarily result in "class action." "The dependence on and the result (operation) of the class situation must be clearly recognizable" (II: 533). Only then can the contrast of life chances be perceived plainly not as a given condition to be accepted, but as a result of either (1) the given distribution of property, or (2) the structure of the concrete economic order. Only then will people be able to react against the class structure not only through the act of an intermittent and irrational protest, but in the form of rational "socialization" (Vergesellschaftung). Examples of "class situations" of the first category are found in a specifically naked and transparent form in the urban centers of Antiquity and during the Middle Ages. The most important historical example of the second category is the class situation of the modern "proletariat"

(II: 533; GM: 184).

Weber analyzes class struggles in terms of a progressive shift from competition over consumption credit, to competition in the commodity market, to finally price wars on the labor market. The "class struggles" of antiquity (insofar as they were class struggles and not estate disorders) were engaged in by indebted peasants, or by indebted artisans struggling against their urban creditors. Such credit struggles continued up to the time of Cataline, when the struggle over the means of sustenance emerged. The struggles in the commodity market centered first around the provision of bread and the price of bread. These struggles lasted throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages. The present-day issue behind class antagonisms is the determination of the price of labor (GM: 185-86).

In his second essay on "Estates and Classes," Weber began a systematic analysis of classes and types of classes. He defined classes in terms of their "class position." Here I shall translate or summarize all of this chapter directly from the German text because Parson's translation (of this chapter) is so poor. I shall more or less adhere to Weber's outline form, so as not to insert ideas of my own into his writing. It should be remembered that this

chapter consists of rough draft notes and was written for Weber's own use and not for publication.

a. Class position

"Class position" (Klassenlage) shall be defined as the typical chance
1. of providing oneself with goods,
2. of the external aspects of social position,
3. of the inner aspects of one's life destiny
which follows from the degree and kind of disposition (or lack of disposition) over goods or qualification for services, and out of the given manner of their realization for the production of income or revenues within a given economic order (I: 177).

b. Class

"Class" (Klasse) shall refer to any group of persons being in the same class position.

(a) Property class (Besitzklasse) shall refer to a class in so far as the property distinction is the primary determining factor of the class position.

(b) Acquisition (business) class (Erwerbsklasse) shall refer to a class in so far as the primary determining factors of class position are the chances of market realization (making a profit in the market) from goods or performances (services).

(c) Social class (soziale Klasse) shall refer to the totality of those class positions among which an interchange of individuals: personal, or in the succession of generations, is easily possible and typically happening (I: 177).

According to Weber, "on the basis of all three class categories socialization of the class interests (class

bonds) may arise. But this need not necessarily happen: class position and class, as such, designate only the facts of the existence of the same (or similar) typical interest situations in which a particular individual, along with many others, finds himself." In principle there are a great variation and combination of class positions. Only the completely unskilled, who are propertyless and without regular employment, are in an identical class position. Transitions are varying in ease and the unity of a "social" class is therefore very differently developed (I: 177).

c. Positively privileged property class

The primary meaning of a positively privileged property class lies in:

(1) the monopolizing of the consumption, by purchase, of high-priced market goods (burdened with costs);

(2) the position of monopoly, and the feasibility of a policy of planned monopolizing of the seller's market;

(3) the monopolizing of the chance for the accumulation of property through unconsumed surpluses;

(4) the monopolizing of the chances for the accumulation of capital through saving; hence the possibility of investment of property as lending capital, with the consequent power over the leading (entrepreneurial) positions;

(5) estate-like (staendischen) (educational-)

privileges, in so far as they are costly.

I. Positively privileged property classes are typically composed of: gentlemen of independent means, or rentiers (Rentner). They may be:
(a) Receivers of income from men (slave-owners),
(b) Receivers of rent from land,
(c) Receivers of revenue from mines,
(d) Receivers of revenue from capital (owners of factories and apparatuses),
(e) Receivers of income from ships,
(f) Creditors, and indeed, creditors of livestock, of grain, or of money,
(g) Receivers of income from securities (I: 177-78).

d. Other property classes

II. Negatively privileged property classes are typically:
(a) the object of property (the unfree, see under "estate"),
(b) the declassed ("proletariat" in the sense used in Antiquity),
(c) the indebted,
(d) the "poor."

III. In between stand the "middle quasi-estate classes" (Mittelstandsklassen), which embrace all those strata which own property or education from which they can make a living. Some of them may be acquisition classes: entrepreneurs with essentially positive degree of privileges; proletariat with negative degree of privileges. But not all peasants, artisans, public officials, etc. (i.e., members of any one acquisition class) are included in this category.[92]

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[92]I disagree with Parsons in his translation here. The original text reads as follows: "Aber nicht alle (Bauern, Handwerker, Beamte) sind es." This might be

> The pure property class structure is not "dynamic," that is, it does not necessarily lead to class conflicts and class revolutions. The strongly positively privileged property class of the slave-owners, for example, often stands without any class opposition, sometimes with solidarity (for example, as opposed to the unfree), beside the much less positively privileged peasants, yes, even beside the declassed.[93]

However, the contrast within the property class between

1. landowners and the declassed;
2. creditors and debtors (often: a free urban patrician versus a freeholding peasant or a free small artisan in the city)

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translated: "But not all peasants, artisans, public officials, are it" (i.e., are included in it), as I have done above. Or it might be translated as: "But not all (for example, the peasants, artisans, public officials) are (included in) it." The latter is the way Parsons translates it: "But many types such as peasants, craftsmen, and officials do not fall in this category" (P: 425). But the latter interpretation does not make sense in connection with par. f. III (which follows), the German text of which: "Dazwischen stehen auch hier als "Mittelklassen" die selbstaendigen Bauern und Handwerker. Ferner sehr oft: a) Beamte . . . ," I translate as: "In between stand here also as "middle classes" the self-employed peasants and artisans. Furthermore, very often: (a) officials . . ." Parsons translates this last sentence as: "In this connexion as well as the above, independent peasants and craftsmen are to be treated as belonging to the 'middle classes.' This category often includes in addition officials, . . ." (P: 427). But Parsons' reference to "the above" can refer to none other than the "middle property classes," thus contradicting his translation of the first sentence, above.

[93]Parsons' translation is incorrect here. He translates this as: "There may even be ties of solidarity between privileged property classes and unfree elements" (P: 426).

> may lead to revolutionary conflict, but not necessarily conflict aimed at a change of the organization of the economy, but primarily merely at a change of the property establishment and property distribution (property-class revolution). (I: 178).

Weber points out that "the classic example of the absence of class opposition was the position of the 'poor white trash' (the slaveless white) to the planters in the Southern United States. The poor white trash were often more hostile to the Negroes than the planters whose position was often governed by patriarchal feelings." Weber adds that "the chief example of the conflict of the declassed against the propertied, also for the opposition between the creditors and the debtors, and between the landowners and the declassed, is proffered by Antiquity" (I: 178).

e. Positively privileged acquisition class

> The primary meaning of a positively privileged acquisition (business) class lies in:
>
> (1) the monopolizing of the management of the supply of goods in the interest of the acquisition (business) interests of their class members and by them,
>
> (2) the ensuring of their acquisition chances through the influence on economic policy of political and other associations.
>
> I. Positively privileged acquisition classes are typically: entrepreneurs:

(a) merchants,
(b) shipowners,
(c) industrial entrepreneurs,
(d) agricultural entrepreneurs,
(e) bankers and financial entrepreneurs; under certain circumstances:
(f) those who with privileged capacities or privileged educational training have established professional positions (attorneys, physicians, artists),
(g) workers (I think Weber means self-employed workers) with a monopoly of quality (personal or trained or educated). (I: 178-79).

f. Other acquisition classes

II. Negatively privileged acquisition classes are typically: laborers in their different qualitatively distinct kinds:
(a) skilled,
(b) semiskilled,
(c) unskilled.

III. In between stand here also as "middle classes" (Mittelklassen) the self-employed peasants and artisans. Furthermore, very often:
(a) officials (public and private),
(b) the categories mentioned under I (f) (professionally trained persons), and the workers (here I think Weber means hired workers)[94] with an exceptional monopoly of quality (personal or trained or educated). (I: 179).

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[94]Weber must have intended a distinction between I (g) and III (b), such as "self-employed" and "hired" workers, else he would not have put "workers with a monopoly of quality" under positively privileged acquisition classes, and "workers with an exceptional monopoly of quality" under the middle classes.

g. Social classes

> Social classes are:
> (a) the working class as a whole: ever more so the more automatic the working process becomes,
> (b) the petty bourgeoisie, and
> (c) the propertyless intelligentsia and the professionally trained (technicians, commercial and other salaried employees, the public officials;-- among each other, eventually, socially very much separated, depending upon the cost of their training),
> (d) the propertied classes and those privileged through their education (I: 179).

Weber refers to the unfinished last chapter of Marx's Kapital, which "obviously was intended to touch upon the problem of the class unity of the proletariat which existed in spite of its qualitative differentiation." Weber continues: "The rising importance of the semiskilled, trained on the machines themselves within not too extended a period of time, at the expense of 'skilled' labor, as occasionally also of 'unskilled,' is a decisive factor for that (the unity of the proletariat). And yet the semi-skilled also often hold a monopoly of qualities of abilities" (weavers, for example, often require five years' experience before becoming proficient).

Weber points out that at one time every worker looked forward to becoming an independent petty bourgeois, but the possibility of achieving this goal is becoming

progressively smaller. In the succession of generations it is relatively easiest for the laborers, and for the petty bourgeoisie, to climb up to the class of the professionally trained, especially as technicians and commercial employees. But it requires money to rise into the propertied classes. The intelligentsia and the professionally trained have a chance to climb up to the propertied classes through banking and investment enterprises (I: 179).

h. Class associations

> Collective class action most easily arises:
>
> (a) against the immediate hostile interests: workers against entrepreneurs--not against stockholders who actually are the ones receiving income without working; neither: peasants against lords of the manor,
>
> (b) only when a similar class position is typical for large numbers of people,
>
> (c) when the technical feasibility of getting together easily prevails, when working together closely, in a common workshop,
>
> (d) only when directed toward manifest goals, which are regularly dictated or interpreted by persons not belonging to the same class (intelligentsia). (I: 179).

We indicated earlier that, according to Weber, classes are not communities but merely represent possible and frequent bases for communal action. But estates, on

the other hand, are normally communities.

4. Estates (Staende)

"Estates are, in contrast to classes," Weber writes, "normally communities (Gemeinschaften), even though often of an amorphous kind. In contrast to the purely economically determined 'class position,' we wish to designate as 'estate position' (estate-type position) every typical component of the life destiny of men which is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social assessment of 'honor,' which (honor) may be very closely connected with any attribute held in common (by many people). This honor may also be connected with a class position: class distinctions are connected with estate distinctions in the most diverse ways, and property, as such, as has already been noted, is not always accepted as an estate qualification, but, nevertheless, it is with extraordinary regularity as well as over a long period of time."

Weber points out that "Both the propertied and the propertyless can belong to the same estate, and do so frequently and with very perceptible consequences, so precarious this 'equality' of social assessment may also become over a period of time. The quasi-estate 'equality'

of the American 'gentleman,' for example, comes, within the province of this difficulty, to the expression: that outside of the pure practical, recognized subordination in the 'office' (or business), it becomes valid to the extent of a strong proscription--where the old traditions still rule--that even the richest 'chief,' some evening at the club, at billiards, or at a card game, should not treat his 'clerk' in every sense as other than fully equal in rank." Weber adds that it is not permitted that the American "chief" confer upon his clerk the condescending "benevolence," marking the distinction of his "position," which the German chief can never separate from his feelings (II: 534-35).

In content, according to Weber, estate honor is normally expressed by the fact that a specific style of life may be demanded on the part of all who wish to belong to the circle. Connected with these demands are restrictions on "social" intercourse, that is, not economic nor related to practical goals, such as, usually, connubium which may lead to the complete endogamous closure of the estate circle. In its characteristic form, Weber notes, the quasi-estate organization ("staendische" Gliederung) in the United States on the basis of conventional styles of

life develops, at the present time, out of the traditional democracy. For example, only the resident of a specific street ("the street") belongs to "society" and is admitted to social intercourse. In America the submission to fashion occurs among men to a degree not found in Germany, and is considered as an indication that a man pretends to qualify as a gentleman. In many cases there is a usurpation of quasi-estate honor based upon long-time residence: the "first families of Virginia," the actual or alleged descendants of the "Indian Princess"Pocahontas, or of the Pilgrim fathers, or of the Knickerbockers. In all these cases, according to Weber, it is a question of pure convention, essentially of usurpation of honor. But the road from this situation to legal privilege (positive and negative) is easily travelled. Almost all estate honor, Weber adds, originates in usurpation (II: 535; GM: 188).

"In all practical respects," Weber writes, "the estate type of organization (staendische Gliederung) goes, at all times, together with a monopolization of ideal and material goods or chances in a manner which is by this time known by us as typical. Besides the specific estate honor (Standesehre) which always rests upon distance and exclusiveness, and besides the prerogatives of honor, such

as the privilege of distinct costumes, of certain foods denied to others through taboos, the prerogative of carrying arms (the consequence of which is most obvious), the right to certain not businesslike but dilettante kinds of artistic practices (for example, certain musical instruments), stand all sorts of material monopoly. Seldom sufficient, but almost always playing a part, material monopolies naturally provide the most efficacious motive for the estate-type exclusiveness. . . . For the decisive role of the 'conduct of life' for the estate-type 'honor' involves this: that the 'estates' are the specific bearer of all 'conventions'; all 'stylization' of life, in whatever way it may be expressed, either has its origin in estates or at least becomes conserved by them. Besides all the great disparities pointed out, the principles of estate-type conventions nevertheless display certain typical features, especially amongst the most privileged strata. Quite generally there exists the estate disqualification against the performance of common physical labor by the privileged estate groups, which is now being instituted also in America in the face of the old, directly opposite traditions" (II: 537).

Weber indicates that the "estate" principle of

social organization is opposed both to gainful economic employment and to the control by the market of the distribution of power. The market and the economic processes recognize no "personal esteem"; they know nothing of "honor." The market is ruled by "practical" interests. This is exactly the opposite of the estate order. Therefore all those who have interests in the estate structure react with special sharpness against the pretensions of purely economic acquisition.

According to Weber, one of the most important effects of an estate organization (staendischer Gliederung) is the restraint of the free development of the market, at first by withholding goods from free exchange through monopolization.

Weber writes that, with some simplification, one might say that "classes" are organized according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods, whereas "estates" are organized according to the principles of the consumption of goods in a manner specified by their "conduct of life."

According to Weber's thinking, a "professional organization with its own jurisdiction" ("Berufsstand")

is also an "estate,"[95] which means that it successfully claims social "honor" on the basis of a special "conduct of life" (II: 537-38; GM: 192-93).

In his second essay Weber began a systematic treatment of estates, but this section is even less complete than the first section on classes. My translation of this entire section follows.

a. Estate position

> Estate position (staendische Lage) shall refer to a typically effective claim to positive or negative privilege in the social estimation, based upon:
> (a) the manner of the conduct of life--hence
> (b) a formal method of education, which may be either an empirical or a rational system of instruction, and the possession of a correspondingly suitable mode of life;
> (c) hereditary prestige or vocational prestige.
>
> Primarily, estate position is expressed practically in:
> (a) connubium,
> (b) commensality,--eventually
> (c) often, a monopolistic appropriation of

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[95] Gerth and Mills translate this as, "An 'occupational group' is also a status group" (GM: 193). The difference in these two translations has significant implications. "Occupational group" is usually applied to all members of an occupational category: e.g., all physicians, lawyers, skilled workers. Certainly Weber did not consider such occupational categories as constituting "estates."

privileged acquisition chances or rejection of certain methods of acquisition,

(d) estate-type conventions ("traditions" of other kinds.

Estate position may be determined by class position or rest on it in an ambiguous manner. But it is not determined by class position alone: the possession of money and entrepreneurial position are certainly not by themselves estate qualifications, although they may lead in that direction; lack of property is not yet by itself an estate disqualification, although it may lead to that. On the other hand, estate position may partly or even entirely determine a class position, without yet being identical with it. The class position of an officer, an official, a student, determined by his property, may be extraordinarily diverse without differentiating his estate position since the conduct of life, created by education, is the same in points decisive with respect to estate. (I: 179-80).

b. Estate

A plurality of individuals shall be called an "estate" (Stand) within which some effective bonds operate:

(a) an estate-type (staendische) special estimation, hence, eventually also

(b) an estate type special monopoly claimed.

Estates (Staende) can originate:

(a) Primary type: through a special estate-type conduct of life, especially through the manner of one's calling (estate by conduct of life, or estate by office),

(b) Secondary type: hereditary charismatic, through successful prestige claims based on the estate-type descent (estate by birth),

(c) through estate-type appropriation of political or hierocratic seigneurial authority as a monopoly (political or hierocratic estates).

> The evolution of the estate by birth is regularly a form of the hereditary appropriation of privileges by an association or by a qualified individual. Every stable appropriation of chances, especially seigneurial chances, tends to lead to the formation of estates. Every formation of estates tends to lead to monopolistic appropriation of seigneurial authority and chances of acquisition (I: 180).

c. Relation of class to estate

> While acquisition classes develop on the basis of a market-oriented economy, estates develop and stand preferably on the basis of a monopolistic supply of the requirements of associations, which may be either "liturgical"[96] or feudal or estate patrimonial. A society shall be called "estate-like" ("staendisch") when the social organization occurs preferably after the manner of estates (Staenden); "class-like" ("klassenmaessig") when it occurs preferably after the manner of classes (Klassen).[97] The "estate" stands in relation to "classes," closest to "social" class, and furthest away from "acquisition

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[96]Bendix writes: "Weber distinguished between states whose needs are met through taxation and states whose needs are met by payments in kind--whether these consist of services or products. He called the latter method 'liturgical,' after the liturgies of the ancient city-states in which 'certain groups of the population were charged with the burden of providing and maintaining naval vessels or of providing for the public performances of the theatre.'"--Reinhard Bendix, Max Weber; An Intellectual Portrait (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1960), p. 338, ft. n. 12.

[97]This sentence is omitted from Parsons' translation (P: 429).

> class." The gravity point of an "estate" is often a property class.
>
> Every estate-like society is conventional, regulated through the rules of the conduct of life. It creates therefore economically irrational conditions of consumption and hinders in this manner the free formation of the market, through monopolistic appropriations and through the exclusion of the free disposition over the individual capability of earning one's living. About this at another place (I: 180).

At the end of this chapter in the German edition, there is a two-page supplement containing some unfinished notes of Weber's. The notes are headed with the title: Warrior estates. The notes are divided into three sections, headed: I. Charismatic; II. Traditional; III. Feudal. Then the title, Warrior estates reappears, with the subheading, A. The free common soldier; followed again by the subheadings: 1. Charismatic warrior; 2. Traditional warrior (here the notes end). It is evident that Weber intended to carry his analysis systematically all the way through the concept of estate, applying his various concepts of authority (I: 2 pp. following 180).

5. Caste (Kaste)

One of the major contributions of Weber's stratification theory is that not only did he develop three

theoretical models of stratification systems, but he also tried to tie these models together conceptually. This is not to say that Weber was not interested in the historical development of a particular stratification system, nor of the change from one system to another--he certainly was. But it is easy for the social observer, in studying history, to overlook the basic principles involved, and to fail to take note of the uniformities: not the apparent, surface uniformities--these may be deceptive, but the basic, underlying causal uniformities. And this, I am sure, was what interested Weber most.

Weber points out that wherever the consequences of the "estate" usurpation of power are realized to their fullest possible extent, the "estate" evolves into a closed "caste." This means that we find not only conventions and laws, but also ritual guarantees of the estate distinctions. This occurs to the extent that any physical contact by a member of a "higher" caste with a member of a "lower" caste results in ritualistic impurity, which must be expiated by a religious act. Each caste develops quite distinct cults and gods.

According to Weber, the estate organization reaches such consequences only where there are basic differences

which are known as "ethnic." The caste is indeed the normal form, Weber maintains, in which ethnic communities are able to live side by side in a "societalized" manner, with definite rules of connubium and social intercourse. This caste situation is found all over the world in the form of "pariah" peoples: forming communities which develop specific occupational traditions and a belief in their ethnic community. These people live in a "diaspora," segregated from all personal intercourse with others, and yet they are tolerated, sometimes privileged, because of their economic indispensability. According to Weber, the Jews are the most magnificent historical example of this.

Weber warns that the "caste" segregation, developed out of the "estate-type" segregation, differs from the mere "ethnic" segregation in that the caste makes out of the horizontal unconnected coexistences of the ethnic groups a vertical social system, one group above another, and along with this goes a ranking differentiation of power and honor.

Weber explains that the reverse of the above phenomenon: the development of estate systems from ethnic groups, is not the normal phenomenon. Ethnic and racial distinctions seldom lead to the formation of estates, which is more likely to be determined by political membership or

class situation (II: 536-37; GM: 188-90).

In other writings Weber continued the systematic application of his basic concepts to theoretical or historical analyses. In another section in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft (Chapter V), he presents a long discussion of "Estates, Classes and Religion" (I: 285-314). This section has not yet been translated into English.

In the second volume of his Sociology of Religion, Weber presents a detailed discussion of "The Hindu Social System," in which he describes the Hindu castes and their relations to one another, and also discusses the concept caste and its relation to the concepts, tribe, guild, estate, and sib.[98] This volume is now available in English translation.[99] A part of this work is also available in Gerth and Mills (GM: 396-415).

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[98]Max Weber, Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Religionssoziologie, Volume II, Hinduismus und Buddhismus (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1923), pp. 1-133.

[99]Max Weber, The Religion of India; The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism, tr. and ed. by Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 3-133.

6. Parties (Parteien)

Although parties are not to Weber a form of stratification (as we have already indicated), parties are important to any discussion of stratification because they play a major role in class action and in class conflicts. Marx has already shown that class struggles are, in the final analysis, political struggles; the battle between certain class groups for power in determining their economic and social destinies takes place in a political arena.

In another context Weber defines "party" as "an associative type of social relationship, membership in which rests on formally free recruitment." According to Weber, a party, by definition, "can exist only within a corporate group, in order to influence its policy or gain control of it." These corporate groups may be political or otherwise. The criterion for applying the term party is the "formally voluntary solicitation and adherence in terms of the rules of the corporate group within which the party exists" (P: 407-409).

As we said before, parties reside primarily in the "house of power." Their action is oriented toward acquiring social "power," that is, toward influencing communal

action no matter what its content may be. Weber writes that in any particular case, parties may represent interests determined either through "class position" or through "estate position," and they may recruit their membership from either one. But they do not necessarily become either purely "class" or purely "estate" parties. In most cases they are partly one and partly the other, but sometimes they are neither.

Parties differ in structure according to the kind of communal action which they try to influence, and also according to whether the community is organized according to estates or classes. In any event, parties vary, according to Weber, according to the power structure within the community.

In general, Weber says, "classes," "estates," and "parties" necessarily presuppose a comprehensive societalization, and particularly a political framework of communal action, within which they operate (II: 539-40; GM: 194-95).

7. Implications of Weber's Stratification Theory for this Dissertation

In the writings we have discussed, Weber analyzes three orders in society: the legal order, the economic

order, and the social order, and their relation to stratification and to types of stratification systems. In other writings, he discusses the religious order and its relation to stratification.

Weber sees stratification as being a function of the distribution of power and authority in society. But the source and consequence of this power and authority may be diverse--the source may be found in ethnic differentiation which may lead to a caste type of ranking, or in the distribution of honor which may lead to estate stratification, or in the distribution of power in the economic market relations, which may lead to the development of classes. In every stable stratification system, the stratified group distinctions find their basis of validity, or else some sort of legitimization is developed, in the legal order, in the conventions of the society, or in traditions. In every case, the result of stratification is a differential distribution of power and authority, and of honor or prestige, as well as a differential distribution of the economic and intellectual goods of life.

Weber intends, I am sure, the three types of stratification systems, caste, estate and class, as three theoretical types or models. But, of course, theoretical models

are of little value unless they can be applied empirically to ongoing social systems. Weber says that if a society is modeled predominantly after the manner of estates, it shall be called an estate society, or if after the manner of classes, a class society (the same principle would apply to caste stratification). Thus Hindu India is a caste society, Medieval Europe was an estate society, and the contemporary United States is (essentially) a class society.

But more than one stratification system may operate within a society at the same time. Caste is more or less a universal phenomenon, according to Weber. The Jews, for example, exhibit the traits of caste, to a greater or lesser degree, wherever they are found. The Germany in which Weber was born and lived--the Germany which he knew, still contained remnants of the old feudal estates, side by side with the newly arisen economically-based classes. And this, I believe, points out another difficulty to understanding Weber. Throughout his discussion he refers to certain individuals or groups and their relative positions within the class and the estate systems. This leads some contemporary American sociologists to write that, according to Weber, <u>every person</u> has a position within the class system, the status system, and the power system.

Gordon adds that these three positions are frequently separate and distinct. But this is wrong for two reasons. First, Weber does not say or imply that every person holds positions within the various stratification systems. And, secondly, Weber was thinking about the Germany of his day when he made these comparisons, not the United States of today. When Weber refers to the United States, he says that here are found "quasi-estates," based on the traditions developed within the new world. But they are not estates--their pretension to estate "honor" is based upon usurpation. But he adds that such usurpation is the usual origin of almost all estate honor, and may lead to estate organization through legal privilege.

Caste, estate, and class, then, are not dimensions of stratification--they are types of stratification systems. They may all exist within one society at the same time, or a society may be predominantly or exclusively organized in terms of any one. But they are all related to each other, conceptually and causally. Castes are estates made rigid; but castes are based upon ethnic group differentiation, whereas estates are based upon a differentiation of honor. Estates may grow into castes, but castes (or ethnic group differentiation) seldom form the

basis of estates. Estates are closest to social classes and furthest removed from acquisition classes. Estates may form the basis for property classes, and vice versa. Of course, estate systems develop into class systems with the expansion of industry and the free commercial market--Western Civilization is the classic example of this.

Two questions might be raised: Why did Weber develop the concept of social classes? And, what is the relation, if any, between social classes and estates? I think one answer covers both questions. Estates to Weber are communities--they are genuine community associations of men in like estate positions. With the breakdown of the feudal system in Europe and the growth of commerce and industry, and the free market, the estate system was replaced by classes, which are no longer communities, but merely economically based categories of persons in the same class position. But classes do form the bases for community action. And interpersonal associations (or quasi-associations) do arise among individuals within the same class position. Among the positively privileged property classes, especially, these associations often take the form of quasi-estates: thus they form quasi-communities. Collectivities of large numbers of individuals, joined together

by common economic interests and a recognition of similarity of class position, cannot develop into communities because of their size, their diversity of backgrounds, personal qualities, and styles of life, as well as their spatial separation--but they may form a "social class": it is "social" in that it is an interacting collective (or quasi-association); it is a "class" in that although it is not a community it may form the basis for community action.

And now we come to the most relevant part of Weber's theory--relevant for contemporary American stratification study, that is. If Weber did develop a three-dimensional scheme of class stratification--these are the three dimensions: property, acquisition, and association ("social"). In any class society these three dimensions are found, and every person does have a position within at least two of these categories: property and acquisition, as positively or negatively privileged, or "middle." I do not believe, however, that every class category may properly be called a "social class," for example, the unemployed indigent, or the "poor white trash" as a whole. I also have grave doubts that the "working class as a whole" may be considered as a social class, although Weber does just this.

Positions based on these three dimensions are not

separate and distinct. One's position within the property classes is determined by his position in the acquisition classes, and vice versa, and one's social class position is conditioned by his position in the other two classes. This conception of the three class dimensions and their interrelation will form the basis of the theoretical class model which I shall try to develop in the following chapters.

In addition, Weber approaches the study of class from the standpoint of the position rather than of the individual. He discusses class position, and then adds that a class is composed of all persons who hold the same class position. Similarly, one individual's relationship to the social system is determined by the class position (or positions) which he holds. In the chapters which follow, I shall attempt to develop a stratification theory in terms of positions, rather than of individuals.

Finally, Weber recognizes castes, estates, and classes as constituting organized systems for the distribution of power within a community or society. The basic premise of this dissertation is that the Sociology of Stratification is basically concerned with a theory of the power structure of society.

VI. FERDINAND TOENNIES: ESTATES AND CLASSES

Toennies writes a theory of stratification which is, in many respects, similar to that of Marx and Weber. Toennies starts out by defining social collectives as "groups of individuals or families, who are tied to one another by virtue of shared traditions or because of their common interests and their common perspective." The members of a social collective are aware of a certain ideological unity, although this does not result in a "collective will" but rather a sort of "tacit consensus" which is manifested under certain conditions or occasions. Specific types of social collectives are societal and communal collectives. Societal collectives are rational; the political party is the "ideal type" of a societal collective. All collectives which are not societal in the sense of a political party are communal collectives (Toennies' meaning of "societal" and "communal" are to be found in his theory of the two types or conditions of social life: Gesellschaft, based upon the "rational will" and Gemeinschaft, based upon the "natural will"--see discussion of Toennies in Chapter I).

1. Estates and classes

Collectives, according to Toennies, may be subdivided

into economic, political and intellectual-moral types. Estates and classes are based on economic relations, but their significance extends into political affairs and the intellectual and moral realm. According to Toennies:

> Estates are related to one another like the organs or limbs of a body; classes are engaged in a contractual relationship. Classes look upon, and deal with, one another basically as opponents, who depend on one another nevertheless as a result of their mutual interests. The relation between classes turns immediately into enmity, when one class is dissatisfied with the actions of the other, when one accuses the other that the contract is inadequate or that its conditions have not been observed. Hence, estates change over into classes, when they engage in hostile actions or engage one another in war. These struggles are class-struggles, even if they are called struggles between estates.

Toennies points out that "estate" and "class" are synonyms which are often used interchangeably, but that, for scientific discrimination, we need to distinguish between them. To Toennies, "estates are conceived as communal and classes as societal collectives." Another distinction is the greater rigidity of estates as opposed to the often extreme fluidity of classes.

Ruling estates (Herrenstaende), in Toennies' thinking, are the "prototype of an estate" with respect to their economic, political, intellectual and moral characteristics. The ruling estates are the secular and clerical nobility,

although the term "nobility" is reserved for the former. The "third" or peasant estate is distinguished from the ruling estates on the basis of its occupation, and also from its off-shoots: the estate of craftsmen and merchants of the town (the bourgeoisie).

Estate consciousness (Standesbewusstsein: Bendix translates as "Consciousness of status," or, which is better, "consciousness of status by a member of an estate") is a characteristic of the ruling estates, and is manifest in different forms such as pride, dignity and honor. Estate honor is an integral part of the ruling estates, which demand of their members that they live in accordance with a specific code of honor. The nobility is generally endogamous.

According to Toennies, estates may be classified as estates of birth and of occupation. The "high" nobility is strictly an estate of birth, obeying a strict rule of endogamy. According to Toennies, "the clerical estate is thought to depend on election, though this election takes the form of divine grace and as such often depends on vows which would dedicate even a child to the dignity of this calling." "In a certain sense," Toennies writes, "the clerical estate has always been a representative of the

female sex, . . . in contrast to the specifically male character of the medieval knight and of the secular aristocracy." For a long time the clerical estate has devoted itself to art and science, to the espousal of the faith, and to the performance of priestly functions.

During the Middle Ages, Toennies says, "the calling or vocation of a person was based on an election, though as a rule this election took place within an occupational estate." But an election was often impossible for extraneous reasons, such as pride of status in offices or guilds which would exclude from membership children born out of wedlock, or even "whole trades (masters and sons) such as the linen-weavers."

An example of an estate of occupation is the estate of craftsmen, which thinks of itself with great pride as the middle estate (Mittelstand), and claims to be the core of the bourgeois estate (Buergerstand).

The proletariat has often been called the "fourth estate," but Toennies says that this has no historical or sociological basis. Even less valid is the concept of the "fifth estate," which may more appropriately be called the Lumpenproletariat. Toennies believes that both capitalists and the proletariat should not be regarded as estates, but

should be considered as classes.

Toennies discusses the caste system in India, which he says has an "estate-like character." A caste, he writes, "combines the characteristic elements of both, estates of birth and of occupation. Moreover, the caste often coincides with the 'clan.'" Toennies calls our attention to the fact that both the castes and the occupational estates of Europe were based originally on the division of labor. But in Europe the associations which resulted never took on the rigid form which has defied the centuries in India.

Toennies points out that Europe has had, throughout most of its history, both secular and clerical ruling estates, which have operated as the most powerful political factors, exerting a powerful influence both on economic affairs and on the moral and intellectual development. Thus the two ruling estates have stood next to the monarchy, both supporting and restricting it. "The history of the past four centuries," Toennies adds, "is the story of the gradual but increasingly rapid collapse of this aristocratic grandeur."

According to Toennies, "Estates still exist to the degree that their members think of them as such and want them to exist. Objective analysis can correct this

subjective view," he adds, "only inasmuch as the conscious image of the estate contains elements which have no adequate empirical basis but rest solely upon self-esteem, personal claims, and imaginary constructs."

Estates have been replaced more and more by the "awareness of belonging to a 'class.'" Farmers, craftsmen, civil servants and academicians "still feel themselves" as constituting estates today; soldiers also constitute an estate, standing in contrast to "civilians"--in fact, the officer-corps actually tends to become hereditary (it should be remembered that Toennies is writing about the Germany of the 1920's). Finally, the estate of civil servants (Beamtenstand) is not an estate in the sense described above, since there is lacking a "shared consciousness of status" (or estate).

The development of capitalism is the moving force in the formation of classes, according to Toennies. It is the distribution of wealth and income which contributes most strongly to the cohesion of social classes. Thus we find that society may be divided simply into two class groups--the rich and the poor.

The concept of individualism is basic to an understanding of the development of classes. Individualism

grows with power and wealth, but it also grows with responsibility which the individual has toward himself and others. There are several kinds of individualism, but some kinds stand out, such as that which is exemplified by persons capable of handling their resources with a special degree of freedom. The merchant is a typical case: his business is to risk his resources in the form of money, in a simple calculation, with the expectation to get back his investment plus an added increment. He needs a knowledge of men, of social institutions, of the market, and, in addition he needs a "certain boldness," circumspection, cleverness, and cunning, and "not infrequently ruthlessness against prevailing opinions and inhibitions." Every person who has wealth is more or less similar, according to Toennies, to a merchant.

The growth of the cities more and more alienates individuals from one another. Those who come into contact with each other as creditor and debtor, landlord and tenant, entrepreneur and worker, have little in common. The main characteristic of the worker is that he has very little money, hence no capital. But, according to Toennies, the worker has this much in common with the merchant or entrepreneur, that he is a stranger to those with whom he

comes into contact. Thus no social bonds are formed with his employer, either bonds of kinship, home, occupation or religion. But people are dependent upon one another: the retail merchant upon the customer, and vice versa; the entrepreneur upon the worker, and vice versa. Social relationships are established on the basis of the work contract. But individuals do get together on the basis of similarity of living conditions and common economic, political and intellectual interests. This results in the establishment of many types of associations. But many individuals are prompted to join together because of an awareness of belonging to a collective--this results in the formation of a class, as distinct from an association. The simplest class division is that between the propertied and the propertyless, although many people fall in between these two groups.

Toennies points out the persistence of medieval estates in Europe to this day (the 1920's). Thus Toennies makes clear what apparently confuses many readers of Weber: that when speaking of estates and classes as existing side by side in contemporary society, they are referring to Europe in the early part of the twentieth century--not to the United States in 1961! Toennies indicates that both

ruling estates are still vigorously alive in England and are still strongly represented politically. The middle class is composed of capitalists and of what is known as the bourgeoisie in France and Germany. But there is hardly a middle stratum between the bourgeoisie and the working class in England. There only three classes are generally recognized: upper, middle and lower.

In Germany, Toennies writes, occupational estates still persist, but they are no longer hereditary and freedom of occupational choice prevails. Occupations have the character of collectives. Toennies finds organizations of occupations and estates, for example, those of lawyers and doctors; agencies representing specific occupational interests, such as chambers of commerce, trade associations and "chambers of handicraft" (Gewerbekammern); and occupational associations to protect the workers.

Toennies concludes that "in present-day society occupational estates have a questionable existence. They survive for the most part in those who are dependent upon capital rather than upon other estates and individuals." In place of occupational estates, Toennies adds, there exist today within the grouping called "occupation," "a characteristic division between active and inactive persons,

between employed and unemployed, between persons who belong to the capitalist and those who belong to the working class." Class, according to Toennies, wields its influence "more through the strength of the masses and less through the abilities of individuals."

2. Parties

In the beginning we saw that Toennies defines parties as the ideal type of societal collectives. Just as the decisive characteristic of class is class-consciousness, and that of estate, estate-consciousness, so Toennies says, the integral element of the "party" is party-consciousness. But, one important distinction: class-consciousness is not really a matter of choice, but joining a party is considered to be a result of one's personal "conviction." Party affiliation, according to Toennies, is conditioned by the economic position of individuals, as well as by their estate or class-consciousness.

3. Class Struggle

Toennies lists some of the economic contrasts and struggles which are reflected in political life, such as the contrast between rich and poor, creditor and debtor,

rural and urban residents, those who advocate tariff protection and those who champion free trade. But, he warns, "these contrasts and struggles are obscured by the class struggle," if such has been able to develop, as has been increasingly true during the past hundred years. The class struggle will only culminate if all persons who have been engaged in gainful employment become ranged on one side; if these persons develop a common conviction that they desire a different social organization of property. If a large portion of the gainfully employed workers were to acquire political power, a unified social structure represented by the state would have to replace the present owners of land and capital who now control the means of production and of trade. Such a movement, according to Toennies, would require over a century to accomplish.[100]

4. Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft

The basis for the above stratification theory had already been set forth back in 1887, in the first edition

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[100]Ferdinand Toennies, "Estates and Classes," tr. by Reinhard Bendix, in Bendix and Lipset, op. cit., pp. 49-63. Reprinted from "Staende und Klassen," in Alfred Vierkandt, ed., Handwoerterbuch der Soziologie (1931), pp. 617-28.

of Toennies' major work, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (discussed in Chapter I), which thus anticipated by several years many of the ideas of Sombart and Weber. In this book, Toennies discusses in considerable detail, many basic economic and social concepts, such as, value, price, credit, contract, markets, craftsmen, merchant, labor, caste, estate, and class. At the risk of great oversimplification, I would say that of especial interest is Toennies' discussion of the transition in European society from a predominantly Gemeinschaft-like estate system to a Gesellschaft dominated bourgeois economy as a result of the growth of industry and trade. Like Weber, Toennies bases his theory of class on the market situation, rather than on property, per se. Most of the formulations which are especially relevant for stratification theory have been elaborated in the article we have just discussed. But there are a few additional ideas worth examining.

Toennies describes Gesellschaft as "an aggregate by convention and law of nature," which must be understood as "a multitude of natural and artificial individuals, the wills and spheres of whom are in many relations with and to one another, and remain nevertheless independent of one another and devoid of mutual familiar relationships."

This, Toennies points out, may be considered as a general description of "bourgeois society," or "exchange Gesellschaft," This is a condition in which, and Toennies quotes from Adam Smith, "Every man . . . becomes in some measure a merchant, . . ." In this type of social order the "original" or "natural" relations of individuals are excluded. In the Gesellschaft, Toennies writes, "every person strives for that which is to his own advantage and affirms the actions of others only in so far as and as long as they can further his interest."

Toennies describes three acts, all of which are performed by the capitalist class, which he says are essential to the structure of Gesellschaft: These acts are, the purchase of labor, the employment of labor, and the sale of labor in the form of value elements of the products. In the first act, according to Toennies, the working class participates only in the matter of "getting rid of the superfluous for the sake of the necessary." In the employment of labor, the working class is the material causation, but the capitalist class has the power over the formal causation. But the third act, the sale of labor-produced products, is performed by the capitalist class exclusively: the working class participates solely in the value, "which

is, as it were, squeezed out of it." The working class is free to the extent that it takes an active part, that is, its labor is simply the realization of its contract. From this, Toennies concludes, "the working class is semi-free--namely, up to the middle of the three acts,--and formally capable of deliberate action, as distinct from a class of slaves, which would take part in the process only as would a tool and material. In contradistinction," Toennies adds, "the capitalist class is completely free and materially capable of deliberate action. Its members are, therefore, to be considered voluntary, enthusiastic, and material elements of Gesellschaft; opposite them is the mass of partially voluntary and only formal operators. Interest and participation in these three acts and their interrelations are equivalent to the complete orientation of Gesellschaft and the acceptance of its existence and its underlying conventions."[101]

5. Implications of Toennies' theory for contemporary stratification study

Toennies' theory is of value to stratification

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[101]Toennies, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology, pp. 87-88, 114-15.

theorists today, first because it helps to clarify many of the concepts which are needed in a theory of stratification, and secondly because it points out the need for caution in taking general stratification concepts and applying them haphazardly to any social situation. Estates may be a valid concept to use in discussing German society in the 1920's, but this does not mean that it (or the English translation of "status groups") is equally valid for the United States in 1961. And, finally, Toennies shows that stratification collectives--whether they be castes, estates, or classes, belong in the realm of willed social action, and not in the realm of historical forces or processes, nor in the realm of occupational categories or prestige evaluations.

VII. RUDOLF HEBERLE: RECOVERY OF CLASS THEORY

This chapter ends as it began: with an appeal for the recovery of stratification theory. This chapter has been conceived and developed quite independently of Heberle's views, and I certainly take the full responsibility (and blame) for any interpretation of Marx, Weber, or others, expressed above. But Heberle and I are both aiming at the same goal--for a recovery of traditional stratification

theory in the sociology of stratification, and for the development of research and research methodology which is based upon sound sociological theory, rather than the contemporary kinds of statistical tabulations of broad occupational categories or the random sampling of verbalized opinions regarding class or prestige. And in pursuing this goal, we are both (I hope) following essentially the same path.

1. Stratification theory

Heberle adheres to the classical tradition of stratification theory. He distinguishes three types of social strata: castes, estates, and social classes. He recognizes that the situation existing between white and colored people in the Southern United States does not constitute that of a genuine caste system, and he suggests that perhaps we need a fourth concept to cover this situation. He suggests that the term, "quasi-caste" might be useful. Heberle also does not believe that genuine estates have ever developed in the United States, but he feels that there were potential possibilities in the plantation system in the South at the time of the Civil War, but the consequences of the war arrested and set back the growth of the Southern

aristocracies, which might have grown into estates.

"The kind of stratification which Lloyd Warner and his school have 'discovered' and designated as the American class system," Heberle properly calls "differentiation in terms of prestige." "Like power," Heberle writes, "prestige is enjoyed by classes, estates, and castes in various degrees, depending on the concrete situation. Southern speech is rich in terms denoting prestige differences. For example, the term 'hill billy' refers to a person of low prestige but not to a social class--a hill billy may be a farmer or other entrepreneur, or a salaried employee, for example an insurance salesman, or a laborer."[102]

a. Classes. Heberle defines classes as "social collectives composed of persons in like or similar class position." Class position, according to Heberle, "is determined by a person's property relation to the means of production, or, stated differently, by a person's function in the economic system and consequently by the (predominant) source of his income." All the other attributes of

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[102]Rudolf Heberle, "The Changing Social Stratification of the South," Social Forces, 38 (1959), 42-44.

classes, Heberle says, openness or closedness, commensality and endogamy, prestige status and political power, degree and content of class consciousness, etc., are not proper criteria for designating or differentiating classes but "are subject to empirical inquiry in each concrete case."

Heberle prefers Max Weber's definition of class to Marx's, since the former places the emphasis on the market relations of an individual rather than merely on the kind of property he may own. Heberle believes that the concept of market relations permits of finer differentiations. This is true, of course, because as we saw in our discussion of Weber, market relations necessarily include both acquisition and property, as well as the social (or associational) relations which arise among persons in similar relationship to the market.

Heberle refers to the "great shortcoming" of Marx in failing to foresee the development of the "new middle classes" of salaried employees, and criticizes Dahrendorf who thinks that this deficiency of Marx's requires a fundamental revision of Marx's class theory. I disagree with Heberle on the first point: I do believe that Marx recognized the development of the salaried professional employees--in the last chapter of Das Kapital, Marx wrote

that, from the point of view of source of income, the physicians and officials would also form two classes. But to recognize, formally, the development of a new middle class, interposed between the newly created and rapidly growing commercial-industrial bourgeoisie and proletariat would have been a direct contradiction of his prophesized and hoped-for "splitting up" of society into two great hostile camps. Possibly it was this unreconcilable contradiction between Marx's revolutionary theory and his sociological theory which made it impossible for Marx to synthesize and to complete his stratification theory: impossible, even, to finish this last chapter once he had begun it and saw to what conclusions it must take him!

Heberle believes that class theory should start from the premise that a person's position as producer of goods or services is the criterion which determines his "class position." Recent stratification research and theory, he points out, have tended to attribute far too much significance to consumer habits. He recognizes, of course, that "style-of-living strata" is of importance for some purposes, but should not be identified with social classes. A Southern planter, for example, belongs to the "class of large landlords," irrespective of whether he lives in an

antebellum house or a modern bungalow (it may make a difference though for his wife's acceptance by the Natchez garden club).

This tendency to approach stratification from the consumer point of view, says Heberle, has resulted in the currently popular fallacy that classes, at least in the United States, form a continuum. It is true, Heberle agrees, that levels of living are not sharply distinguished in this country, and that the distribution of income forms a continuum. "But class positions," he adds, "are distinct: one is either a proprietor or not; one is a farmer, a renter or an agricultural laborer; a wage earner, a salaried employee or an employer. What makes it difficult to see this, is the lack of legal definitions and sanctions of class positions, as they existed in the estate system."

Although class positions are distinct, Heberle notes, there are many persons, especially in this country, whose class position is difficult to define, since so many people hold more than one job or are engaged in different kinds of business: the skilled industrial worker who also operates a small farm, the lawyer who speculates in real estate, along with gamblers, prostitutes, policemen and "free drifting" intellectuals, offer serious problems for

class identification. But, Heberle emphasizes, "social class is not meant to be a concept of classification . . . we are not so much concerned with putting everybody in a pigeonhole of a class system free of interstices as with the relations of classes to one another." In addition, a society may not be a "pure class society," but contain elements of caste and estate, and even "schemes of gradation" which are not stratification at all. Finally, class systems in accordance with Heberle's "narrow definition" exhibit great variability, as is seen by comparing France and the United States or Western and Oriental societies.

In conclusion, Heberle suggests that "before we can analyze the part played by classes in processes of social change, we need descriptions of class structures as if they were static. It is in these descriptions that we must take into consideration those other characteristics of classes which we excluded from our general concept."[103] It is here, I believe, that Heberle hits upon one of the serious problems in stratification (and any other area of sociological) theory. Too many theories of class structure (and this is true of many "structural-functional" theories)

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[103]Heberle, "Recovery of Class Theory," pp. 18-24.

do not take into account, or allow for, the process of change. Too many descriptions of changes in stratification systems as they have occurred historically are pure description and are not related to any stratification theory, nor can they be so related. A complete stratification theory should be able to do three things: describe a stratification system at a particular point in time as if it were static; explain the process of changes within the system and changes from one type of system to another, and predict what changes are potential within any one system at a particular time; provide a basis for the empirical study of any stratification system at any point of time in history. The classical theory of stratification, with certain necessary modifications and adaptations, I believe, can do all three.

b. Stratification change. Heberle describes three types of stratification change which may occur:

> 1. Qualitative changes, i.e., from one system to another; a change of this kind was the transformation of the European estate system into the modern class system, or
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> 2. Quantitative changes within a given kind of stratification system, e.g., the decline in size of one class and the increase of another.
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> 3. Finally, it can refer to changes in the

> composition of various strata, i.e., in the personnel of a given class--this aspect is usually referred to by such expressions as "social mobility" or "circulation of elites."

2. Empirical application of the theory

An excellent example of the applicability of the stratification theory discussed above is provided in Heberle's recent article on "The Changing Social Stratification of the South." We are not specifically interested, for the purposes of this dissertation, in the findings of this study, per se, but only as they demonstrate the validity and the applicability of the theory.

Heberle points out that Southern plantations (in the United States) were from the very beginning capitalistic enterprises, which were established for the specific purpose of producing staple crops for exportation. The plantation owners and also their financial backers expected profits as they would from any commercial enterprise. But the planters constituted but a small minority of the rural population; by far the majority of the free rural people consisted of what southern historians call "the plain folks of the old South"--the small farmers who owned few or no slaves.

The small group of slave-owning planters, along with the wealthier urban merchants, bankers and lawyers, constituted the "ruling class." The planters held the highest prestige. Heberle shows how the planters began as entrepreneurs, but developed traits of aristocracy: not only an aristocratic way of life, but an "aristocratic mentality" as well--even "an emerging aristocratic group consciousness indicated by the formulation of ideologies opposed to democratic ideals as well as to the social ethics of the bourgeois entrepreneur." Had they been given more time, Heberle suggests, "the wealthier planters' families might have developed into a new aristocracy, that is a genuine political elite no longer preoccupied with the acquisition and accumulation of wealth but rather devoted to public service." But the Civil War brought heavy casualties to the younger members of this emerging aristocracy; many who came home found their mansions destroyed, their slaves gone, and their finances ruined.

The cities in the South prior to the Civil War were generally small and widely scattered, and were mainly commercial centers. Thus there was no large white working class; even the white craftsmen were few inasmuch as the cruder trades were performed by Negro slaves and the better

goods were mostly imported from Europe.

According to Heberle, Southern society at this time would have been a "typical capitalistic class society" were it not for the large population of Negroes and mixed breeds (about 38 per cent at its peak in 1840) who held a different legal status. There were prior to the War, nearly four million slaves and a fourth of a million free colored people. Heberle refers to these as "status groups" because their "legal position (status)" differed basically from that enjoyed by the white population. Nearly all the Negroes were manual workers.

With the cessation of hostilities after the Civil War, the stratification system of the South changed. (1) Among the planters emerged many "new men" rising from the ranks of overseers and farmer classes. In contrast, many of the old planter families were forced to turn to business and the professions. Absentee landlordism developed among the planters-turned-townsmen and the urban professional and commercial persons who purchased plantations and farms. The planter class, on the whole, was re-consolidated and remained remarkably stable with but little circulation. (2) A white tenant and sharecropper class emerged out of the poorer farmer class. In many cases the economic

position of these people was worse than that of Negro sharetenants. (3) A new and expanding class of supply merchants and bankers arose in the cities and towns. Although the planters retained the higher prestige, the new urban entrepreneurs held the greater economic power. (4) A broad class of industrial entrepreneurs, mostly in the lumber, food and textile industries, arose in the major cities and in favorable locations in rural areas. (5) The workers in the skilled jobs in industry were predominantly white, whereas Negroes held the unskilled and "dirty" jobs. The emancipated Negroes became almost exclusively wage earners--farmhands, domestic servants, craftsmen and casual laborers.

Heberle agrees with those writers who claim that the behavior of Negroes and whites in relation to each other "resembles" the Hindu caste relations in India, but avers that the value systems of the two are essentially diverse. "The caste system was not a function of the economic exploitation of one caste by the other. The caste system was not in conflict but rather in harmony with the legal and political norms of Hindu society." Heberle suggests that the term "quasi-caste" might be more appropriately applied to the Southern situation.

Heberle brings his analysis down to the present time, demonstrating that "the class structure of the South has become more similar to that of the remainder of the United States. The relatively simple stratification of an agrarian society has been replaced by the more complex stratification of an urbanized industrial society." He adds that the previously existing differences in social mobility between the North and the South have been levelled off. The once characteristic stratification rigidity of the South has been replaced with a considerable degree of mobility between the white classes. This is a result partly of the greater diversity of the economy and partly of urbanization. But the chances of upward social mobility for Negroes are still limited. They have, nevertheless, developed a class system of their own which is essentially a replica of the white class system except for the fact that most of the Negroes belong to the working and family farmer classes. As a result, the "prestige stratification" among Negroes is different, in that the small number of professional persons, such as physicians, lawyers, teachers and "educated ministers" comprise the top level with regard to prestige. And here Heberle provides a good argument against the caste theory of white-Negro relations: "if

the Negroes formed a caste, they would be confined to a much narrower range of occupations. Or, if they formed several subcastes, there would be endogamous groups among them."[104]

I think that the above greatly condensed version of Heberle's article is sufficient to prove that the classical theory of stratification can and does provide the basis for a sound and consistent analysis of actual social systems and, especially, of changes occurring over a relatively long period of time. Most contemporary studies of changes in "class consciousness" or of social mobility are necessarily limited to a period of a few years, or, at the most, a few decades.

VIII. PURPOSE OF THE DISSERTATION

The foregoing has attempted to present and to evaluate the essential elements of the classical tradition of stratification theory, so as to serve as a basis upon which to build a genuine "sociology of stratification." This expression is new, and has purposely been used up to now

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[104]Heberle, "The Changing Social Stratification of the South," pp. 42-50.

without explanation. Hitherto, the area under consideration has been referred to by such terms as stratification, social stratification, class, or social class. Although it is generally accepted that names are "nothing but labels," and inoperative in and of themselves, we know that this is not true. Offer a friend "charity" or "love" and the response will be quite different, and yet etymologically the terms are synonymous. Label a commodity "contraceptive" or "prophylactic"--the item remains the same, although sale of the former is illegal in some states (e.g., Massachusetts) while the latter may be sold. Refer to a proposed legislative measure as "corrective" or "protective," or as "socialistic" or "communistic," and you have spelled the success or defeat of the measure, although the proposed legislation may (in our example) correctly be called any one of these things. So names do make a difference, and do operate as motivating factors in human action.

Up to now, the very use of the terms "social stratification" and "social class" may have contributed to the fact that this aspect of sociology is often considered as a subsidiary field of sociological study (and sometimes, even, a minor one). And yet this branch of inquiry is concerned with one of the most significant aspects of social

behavior, and is certainly as deserving of the title of sociology of stratification as is the sociology of the family or rural sociology, for example; as a matter of fact, stratification theory is now at a more sophisticated level of development than is true of either of the latter two disciplines.

"Social stratification" is a delimiting term--it implies simply a subject matter to be observed or described; "sociology of stratification," on the other hand, denotes a scientific discipline concerned with the subject matter in question. Furthermore, by definition, a sociology of stratification must include both theory and methodology, and the significance of this is immediately apparent.

The following chapters will attempt to present a prolegomenon to a unified systematic theory of stratification, which will not only permit objective empirical studies: (a) of actual social systems, such as Marx's analysis of German society in 1848, or Weber's study of the caste system in India and the analysis of estates (which he did not live to complete); and (b) of changing social systems, such as Heberle's study of the South; but which will also make possible (c) statistical measures of class

collectives in contemporary societies, utilizing federal Census reports, and (d) statistical indices (or "clues") of stratification changes and of social mobility.

Necessarily this dissertation is presented as a first step rather than the finished product of this theory, which will require many years of research, experimenting, revising, and testing, which I am hopeful and anxious to pursue in the ensuing years. I am completely in accord with Merton when he says that theory and empirical research must grow and develop together, and I would be indeed presumptuous to attempt to develop a stratification theory without subjecting it to extensive and rigorous examination, criticism and empirical test.

CHAPTER III

A STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL THEORY OF STRATIFICATION

Before we undertake the construction of a structural-functional theory of stratification it might be well to review the various approaches to the study of stratification which have been followed in the past, in order to determine which procedures offer promising returns and which have proved already to be futile.

I. TYPES OF APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF STRATIFICATION

We have seen in the preceding chapters that the sociology of stratification has had a long and varied history. If we were to categorize that history according to type of activity engaged in, we might say there have been four significant types of approaches to the study of stratification (some writers have engaged in more than one type of activity): (1) theoretical formulations, (2) community studies, (3) quantitative and statistical analyses, and

(4) attempted syntheses of theory and empirical research.[1]

1. Theoretical formulations

The theoretical formulations have been numerous and diverse. Society has been compared to a pyramid (Saint-Simon); represented by a double probability curve (like a "top"; Sumner); or simply described in terms of several horizontal "strata" (castes, estates, orders, classes). Warner represents "Yankee City" with six horizontal bars, forming a skewed triangle with a recessed base (the lower-lower class).[2] West presents the class structure of "Plainville, U. S. A." in the shape of a diamond.[3] Barber suggests three possible stratification models: two-

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[1] I might also list historical and comparative studies, but these have been for the most part essentially theoretical in scope and purpose: Millar, Marx, Weber, Toennies, Heberle, etc. I might list "purely hypothetical" (e.g., Sumner) and "purely descriptive" writings (if it is possible to hypothesize completely independent of experience, or to observe and describe completely free from theoretical orientation, which I seriously doubt), but such writings would be of no interest for this discussion.

[2] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), p. 88. (First published in 1941).

[3] James West (pseud. for Carl Withers), Plainville, U.S.A. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

dimensional triangle and diamond, and three-dimensional pyramid, and gives diagrams of eight possible triangular and diamond stratification system shapes "resulting from the interaction of hierarchical and equalitarian tendencies in society."[4]

Society (or class-stratified society) has been divided into two classes: ruling and ruled (e.g., Mosca), bourgeoisie and proletariat (Marx, sometimes); into three classes: upper, middle and lower (many writers), privileged, middle class, and those without property, rights or influence (Small; Weber, although he goes far beyond this simple three-fold classification), landowners, capitalists and laborers (Smith, Ricardo, Marx); into six classes: upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower and lower-lower (Warner school). The source for classes has been located in the type of economy or mode of production (Millar) and the resulting property relations (Marx); in the market relations (Weber); in the struggle for political power (Mosca); in ethnic and racial conflict (Gumplowicz, Ward); in the authority structure of imperatively coordinated associations (Dahrendorf);[5] in the

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[4]Barber, op. cit., pp. 91-92.

[5]Dahrendorf, op. cit., p. 238.

prestige evaluations of individuals (Warner). Stratification has been condemned (Ross); condoned (Cooley); and found necessary for the historical process (Marx). In 1883 Sumner declared that there were classes in the United States, in spite of the efforts of many people to deny them; in 1959 Nisbet declares with equal conviction that the concept of class is obsolete and useless for describing American society, in direct contradiction to the contemporary popularity of class theory and research in this country.[6]

There are two basic approaches to the study of stratification, which we may call the conflict model and the functional model. Stratification has been explained in terms of conflict or conquest by Marx, Gumplowicz, Ward, and Dahrendorf. Functional (or structural-functional) theories of stratification have been proposed by Spencer, Gumplowicz (partly), Parsons, and Davis and Moore.[7] Weber and Toennies took into account both function and conflict in their stratification theories.

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[6]Robert A. Nisbet, "The Decline and Fall of Social Class," The Pacific Sociological Review, II (1959), 11-17.

[7]The functional approach will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

The path of the growth of stratification theory has been strewn with many pitfalls, blind alleys and dead-ends, but throughout its history there has been one rewarding trend which has been discussed in Chapter II as the classical tradition. This tradition has developed a sound basis for stratification theory and research; it has explained stratification phenomena in terms of social, economic and political interaction, and it has provided the basis for descriptive, comparative and historical studies. But its main deficiencies are that it does not provide theoretical models which can be applied to every stratification system (hence Dahrendorf's suggestion that Marx's class theory requires fundamental revision, with which I disagree),[8] and it does not (as it now stands) allow for quantitative measures of class (castes such as are found in India are measurable, and have been measured in censuses up to 1931; estates of Medieval Europe may be measured roughly by use of historical and documentary records; contemporary estates--where they exist among nonliterate peoples, for example, the Baganda in British East Africa, may be measured because the individuals are aware of their own position

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[8] See: Dahrendorf, op. cit.; also, Heberle, "Recovery of Class Theory," p. 21.

within the estate system). Heberle, in his study of the changes in the stratification in the South, was forced by the circumstances to resort to the standard Census reports for class measurement, but he recognized the deficiencies of the Census classifications for accurate class discrimination and therefore made various manipulations of the data in an attempt to refine his measures.

2. Community studies

The Warner-inspired community studies have consisted of a social and cultural stock-taking in which almost every type of activity has been carefully recorded, analyzed and described. The Warner investigators have sought "to discover" social classes, and have found them: sometimes six, sometimes fewer, depending upon the community. In "Yankee City" they discovered six; in "Jonesville," only five (being a smaller and more recently settled city, there was no distinction between upper-upper and lower-upper classes); in "Old City" (Deep South), investigators found a caste line drawn diagonally through society, with each caste,

white and Negro, separated into upper, middle and lower classes.[9]

Warner started out in the right direction. He writes: "It was believed that the fundamental structure of our society, that which ultimately controls and dominates the thinking and actions of our people, is economic, and that the most vital and far-reaching value systems which motivate Americans are to be ultimately traced to an economic order." He reports that the "first interviews tended to sustain this hypothesis." But as the research progressed it was discovered that although "occupation and wealth could and did contribute greatly to the rank-status of an individual, they were but two of many factors which decided a man's ranking in the whole community." And then Warner became a tragic example of the probable destiny of every researcher who undertakes an intricate and complex social investigation without first having a clearly defined conceptual orientation and a carefully formulated research model: he fell victim to his methodology. He mistakenly accepted one of the most easily measurable by-products of

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[9]See: Ruth Rosner Kornhauser, "The Warner Approach to Social Stratification," in: Bendix and Lipset (eds.), op. cit., pp. 224-55.

class--individually evaluated prestige, as the true origin and source of class. As a result, he defines class as "two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions."[10]

Warner and his school exhibit what I would call "operationism-blindness." To the operationist, a concept is defined by the instrument which measures it. Label a prestige scale, an occupational index, or a socioeconomic status scale, a "class" scale, and it now becomes a measure of "class." Thus, given three different types of "class" measures, we would end up with three diverse definitions of "class."

The research reports of Warner and his school are certainly valuable in providing the sociologist with additional empirical information concerning the society in which we live; they do provide informative data concerning the prestige structure of contemporary American cities; but they are useless when it comes to defining or measuring class stratification, or determining actual class

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[10]Warner and Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, pp. 81-82.

behavior, or, especially, when one is attempting to refine, modify or develop stratification theory.

3. Quantitative and statistical analyses

The quantitative and statistical studies, ranging from self-ratings and verbalized opinions to tabulations of Census data, have occupied a great deal of time and attention of stratification researchers during the twentieth century. Some of these approaches (the Census studies and the occupational indices) have a direct bearing upon class theory; others (socioeconomic status scales and prestige scales) have an indirect bearing upon class theory, pointing out some of the consequences of stratification and sources of possible class conflict; others (self-ratings and verbalized opinions) have little utility for stratification theory. These various approaches may be classified into four types, and are reviewed briefly below.[11]

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[11]For a more comprehensive discussion of these quantitative studies, see: Barber, op. cit., chapters 5-8; Caplow, op. cit., chapter 2; Bendix and Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power, passim; Gordon, op. cit., chapter 7.

a. Public-opinion type surveys of attitudes and opinions regarding "class" and "class consciousness." The weaknesses of class perception and class identification questionnaires, along with the studies of Centers and Gross, have been discussed in Chapter II under the topic of "Implications of Marx's Writings for Contemporary Stratification Theory and Research." In his community studies, Warner has devised a method of "evaluated participation" for studying the class structure of communities, which consists of five different techniques. The first technique is that of matched agreements: the "perceived" rank order or class structure of the local community is "abstracted" from the statements made by the respondents; the different rank orders or class structures given by different members of the community are compared; the researcher "establishes" the social stratificational system of the community as it appears to those who participate in it. The second technique is "symbolic placement," exemplified by such statements as: "They are Hill Streeters," "They belong to the Lowell family," "They are clam diggers," or "They are wool hats." The third technique is called status reputation, based upon statements of behavior, such as: "He gives a lot to charity," "He sends his sons to Harvard," or "He

can't keep a job." The fourth technique is that of comparison, in which a respondent refers to others as above, below or equal to himself in class position. The fifth technique is simple assignment; a respondent refers to another as: "He is in the upper-middle class," or "He belongs in the lowest class around here."[12] Warner's methods are interesting, in that they provide us with quantitative measures of the prestige structure of various cities (not communities, as I shall define them later), as well as with spicy commentaries on the manner in which fellow Americans look upon each other (this was already well known before Warner made his study: the novelists do a much better job in this matter than do we anthropologists and sociologists). But, as I have said before, Warner's studies are of little use to us in developing a theory and methodology of stratification.

b. The occupational prestige scales are of more value to us in our present study in that they provide us with concrete evidence of the differential prestige

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[12]W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America; A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), pp. 47-84.

evaluations, expressed by representative samples of the general population, of the various occupations which will later be used as indices of class position. George S. Counts developed the first occupational prestige scale in 1925, with 45 occupations. This was followed in 1931 by a scale by Lehman and Witty with 200 occupations, and one in 1934 by W. A. Anderson with 25 occupations. In 1947, Deeg and Paterson made a study in Minnesota, utilizing 25 of Counts' original 45 occupations, and they found a correlation of .97 between their scores and those of Counts, twenty years before. The most extensive study on occupational prestige was conducted in 1947 by the National Opinion Research Center, with a nation-wide cross-section of the American population, a "battery of questions," and a list of 90 occupations. The occupational ratings were compared by section of the country, size of place, respondent's occupation, age, sex, education, and economic level. The study also included a check on occupational mobility (father-son).[13] A more recent study was conducted at L.S.U.

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[13]National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," planned by Paul K. Hatt and C. C. North, in: Bendix and Lipset (eds.), Class, Status and Power, pp. 411-26 (Reprinted from Opinion News, IX (September 1, 1947), 3-13).

in 1959 using college students as respondents. In this study of the relative prestige of 30 occupations, Garbin found a correlation of .96 with the earlier study of Deeg and Paterson, and of .91 with the N.O.R.C. study. But the association between Garbin's findings and those of Evans, Hughes, and Wilson, the last study of this type conducted in the South (1936), is only .61. This suggests, as Garbin points out, that along with the drastic socio-cultural changes, the South has experienced considerable modifications in the occupational prestige structure, which today apparently resembles that of other regions of the country. Garbin's study represents the most inclusive attempt to determine the correlates of occupational prestige, and this is perhaps the most significant aspect of his work, for present purposes at least. Garbin grouped 20 occupational traits (such as, "interesting and challenging work," "training required," and "service to humanity and essential") into six occupational trait categories, and then computed the mean rank-order trait-prestige correlation coefficient for each category. The resulting correlations are: "intellectual and training requirements," .91; "rewards of the work," .91; "inter-personal relations," .87; "intrinsic nature of the work," .86; "the working

conditions," .49; and "individual independence in the work situation," .48. (These correlations were found to be very similar to the findings of three previous studies.)[14] Thus we may conclude that occupational prestige (which may give us a clue regarding class prestige) is highly associated with the basic functional requirements of the economic system: work requirements and rewards, social relations and nature of the work, and not highly related to actual working conditions and individual independence--often given as reasons for labor disputes and class conflicts. This, it seems to me, is a highly significant finding for our present study.

c. The socioeconomic status scales may be utilized as indices of the relative styles of life of the members of the various classes, but they should not be considered as indices of class position as does Barber. In Exeter, England, back in the 18th century, Hoskins developed an index of social class based upon the number of household hearths. In Minneapolis, Minnesota, between 1928 and

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[14]Albeno P. Garbin, "An Empirical Socio-Psychological Study of Occupational Prestige and its Correlates" (unpublished Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, 1959), pp. 134-35, 141, 188-91.

1933, Chapin developed a measurement of social status based upon the living room equipment. Although Chapin calls this a "Social Status Scale," it was based upon a definition of "socio-economic status," as follows: "Socio-economic status is the position that an individual or a family occupies with reference to the prevailing average standards of cultural possessions, effective income, material possessions, and participation in the group activities of the community."[15] While I have no quarrel with Chapin's definition, Barber refers to this as "Chapin's definition of class position," which is incorrect--nowhere in his article does Chapin refer to class or class position. Barber concedes that the Chapin Scale cannot be used, in its particular form, in societies other than the United States, but adds that, "In principle, of course, this type of index of social class position can be used in any society and at any time,"[16] which is a surprisingly

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[15]F. Stuart Chapin, "The Measurement of Social Status by the Use of the Social Status Scale, 1933," republished in Chapin, Contemporary American Institutions; A Sociological Analysis (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, no date; copyright, 1935), p. 374 (First published in 1933).

[16]Barber, op. cit., pp. 181-83.

ridiculous statement: imagine using a living room equipment scale to measure classes among the Kiowa Indians of the American Plains (who, according to Hoebel, distinguished four classes by name).[17] Without doubt, Hoskins' measure of the household hearths was a better index of class position in 18th century England than Chapin's living room scale in 20th century America, because today a skilled worker at Esso, for example, may have as good, as extensive and as costly house furnishings as a professor at L.S.U., or a local entrepreneurial merchant, and yet the Esso worker is without the power and authority of the latter two, and the class positions of the three are quite different. But the Chapin scale can be used with considerable value, I believe, to determine empirically the relative styles of life of representative members of various classes, once their class positions have been determined by other methods.

Warner constructed an "Index of Status Characteristics," containing six items: occupation, source of income (inherited wealth, earned wealth, profits and fees, salary,

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[17]E. Adamson Hoebel, Man in the Primitive World; An Introduction to Anthropology (Second edition; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1958), p. 416.

wages, private relief, or public relief and "non-respectable income"), house type, dwelling area, amount of income, and amount of education. The last two items were later dropped, since they did little to increase the correlation of this index with the "evaluated participation" rating. Utilizing this index in his study of "Jonesville," Warner discriminated eleven categories of I.S.C. scores, and matched them with their "Social-Class Equivalents," coming up with such positions as, "Upper class probably, with some possibility of upper-middle class," and "Indeterminate: either upper or upper-middle class."[18] Regarding this, Barber writes: "Warner's use of eleven categories of I.S.C. scores . . . brings out clearly two points made above. . . : that the class structure is most usefully conceived [sic!] as a continuum, and that different numbers of classes may be discriminated for different purposes" (italics mine).[19] Barber's statement is correct if: classes are determined by individuals' verbalized perceptions or self-ratings, or by style of life, or by prestige (which they are not); or if we think of class in terms of

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[18]Warner, Meeker and Eells, Social Class in America, pp. 121-59.

[19]Barber, op. cit., pp. 176-79.

individuals rather than positions--the class positions of individuals do form a continuum, but class positions themselves are discrete (more about this later).

d. The occupational indices and census studies offer the most rewarding possibility for stratification theory and research, in that occupation is undoubtedly the best index or clue to social class position, and the census reports, the best source for quantitative data on a nationwide level.

The first U. S. Census categorization of gainful workers by Hunt in 1897 has been mentioned in Chapter I, and the Edwards' Occupational Index of 1943 was discussed in Chapter II. But a great deal of work has been done in this area outside of the Census Bureau. The Minnesota Occupational Scale, constructed by Goodenough and Anderson in 1931, is roughly similar to the Edwards' Index, except that it consists of seven instead of six main categories, and it combines the semiskilled occupations with minor clerical positions and minor business group, which are actually representative of three different social class positions: working class, white collar "class," and entrepreneurial class, respectively. In 1934, R. O. Beckman

classified the census categories into five occupational grades, as follows:

Grade 1. Unskilled manual occupations
Grade 2. Semiskilled occupations
Grade 3. (a) Skilled manual occupations
(b) Skilled white-collar occupations
Grade 4. (a) Subprofessional occupations
(b) Business occupations
(c) Minor supervisory occupations
Grade 5. (a) Professional (linguistic) occupations
(b) Professional (scientific) occupations
(c) Managerial and executive occupations

According to Beckman, this classification was designed to "indicate the rank of any occupation on the basis of the intelligence, capacity or skill, education and training required for its pursuit," and also to "reflect the socio-economic prestige attached to a given occupation."[20] Beckman's index makes a finer discrimination of commercial and industrial occupations than do the previous measures, but unfortunately Beckman combines the farmers and farm laborers with the nonfarm occupations, which is a serious defect for stratification purposes.

In 1949 Centers classified all occupations into ten categories, as follows:

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[20]R. O. Beckman, "A New Scale for Gauging Occupational Rank," Personnel Journal, XIII (1934), 1-16; see: Caplow, op. cit., pp. 34,57.

Urban

1.	Large Business	Bankers, manufacturers, large department store owners and managers, etc.
2.	Professional	Physicians, dentists, professors, teachers, ministers, engineers, lawyers, etc.
3.	Small Business	Small retail dealers, contractors, proprietors: both owners and managers
4.	White Collar	Clerks and kindred workers, salesmen, agents, semi-professional workers, technicians, etc.
5.	Skilled Manual Workers (and Foremen)	Carpenters, machinists, plumbers, masons, printers, etc. Includes foremen. Also barbers, cooks, etc.
6.	Semi-skilled Manual Workers	Truck drivers, machine operators, service station attendants, waiters, countermen, etc.
7.	Unskilled Manual Workers	Garage laborers, sweepers, porters, janitors, street cleaners, construction laborers, etc.

Rural

8.	Farm Owners and Managers	Any person who owns or manages a farm, ranch, grove, etc.
9.	Farm Tenants	All farm tenants and sharecroppers

10. Farm Laborers	All non-owning, non-renting farm workers (except men who work on their own father's farm).

In some respects Centers' classification offers finer discriminations than other indices: large and small businesses, farm and non-farm entrepreneurs and laborers, but the one serious defect is the combining of owners and managers, laborers and supervisors (foremen). And when Centers works this classification into a scale, he combines unskilled manual workers with farm laborers, and he builds a unilinear scale with values from 0 to 8, without regard for farm and non-farm occupations.[21]

The British Census authorities classify occupations into five "Social Classes" and thirteen "Socio-economic Groups." By taking the occupation, past or present, of the male householders, the Census authorities came up with the following picture of the British Class Structure in 1951:

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[21]Centers, op. cit., pp. 48-51. It should be pointed out, with reference to category 9, that "all farm tenants" do not form one class, but may include prosperous large farm enterprises (in which the farmer rents all or most of the land), along with poor, subsistence cash and share-tenants.

Social Class	Per cent	Socio-economic Group	Per cent	
I	3.3	Higher Administrative, Professional, and Managerial workers, including large employers	3.3	
II	18.3	Farmers	2.7	
		Intermediate Administrative, Professional and Managerial workers, including Teachers	11.2	
		Shopkeepers and small employers	4.9	
III	49.5	Non-manual (Cole)		
		Clerical workers	5.1	
		Shop Assistants	3.1	
		Foremen and Supervisors	4.0	12.2
		Manual (Cole)		
		Personal Services	4.1	
		Skilled workers	34.6	38.7
IV	16.5	Semi-skilled workers	11.2	
		Agricultural labourers	4.2	
V	12.4	Unskilled workers	11.3	
		Armed Forces (other ranks)	0.3	
	100.0		100.0	

The British Census "Social Classes" are indeed heterogeneous categories. Class I includes along with the higher managerial workers and large employers, ministers of religion, officers in the armed forces, lawyers, professional scientists, authors, journalists, and medical doctors. Class II includes not only shopkeepers and small employers, but farmers, teachers, artists, and nurses.

Class III includes the skilled laborers and the clerks, typists, shop assistants, along with the foremen and supervisors, and the "blackcoated workers." Class IV is composed of both semi-skilled industrial workers and agricultural laborers. And Class V is a catchall for unskilled workers, lower military ranks, and "a floating group of more or less casual workers."[22]

Although it was indicated at the beginning of this section that occupational indices offer the most promising methodology for a measure of class positions, it is evident that none of the indices so far developed is consistent with the type of class theory proposed in Chapter II. This means that if occupation is to be used as a clue to class position, it will be necessary to develop a new occupational index consistent with our class theory.

4. Attempted syntheses of theory and empirical research

The attempted consolidation of the field of stratification and the introduction of textbook writing has resulted, inevitably, in the attempt to synthesize past

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[22]G. D. H. Cole, Studies in Class Structure (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955), pp. 150-53.

and present theories and research findings, incompatible as they are.

Cuber and Kenkel devote most of their text, Social Stratification in the United States, to a discussion of the American community studies and the research of Centers, but they include sketchy references to Marx, Weber, Sorokin and others. On the basis of the research studies, the authors "consider the continuum theory" of stratification "to be tenable." The authors conclude with a discussion of power, class struggle, and class consciousness, and an evaluation of the American Stratification System, but are unable to decide upon anything definite. They point out, correctly, that "the hierarchical distribution of power, regarded by some analysts to be the most important differential among the various stratification dimensions, is probably the least often discussed aspect of stratification."[23] Cuber and Kenkel's work is perhaps more valuable in pointing out some of the problems in stratification theory than in supplying any tentative solutions.

Mayer's little book, Class and Society, is perhaps one of the best short introductions to the sociology of

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[23]Cuber and Kenkel, op. cit., pp. 306, 315.

stratification, but its deficiencies, in the misinterpretation of Weber's theory, and its inadequate method of measuring classes in the United States, have already been pointed out in the first two chapters of this dissertation. Kahl, in The American Class Structure, attempts to synthesize classical class theory with the Warnerian community studies, but very unsuccessfully as might be imagined. Kahl's ideal typology of the "emergent values" of the classes: "the upper class: graceful living; the upper-middle class: career; lower-middle class: respectability; the working class: get by; the lower class: apathy," is sheer nonsense, but it is logically derived from the Warnerian type research. Barber's Social Stratification has, I believe, been discussed sufficiently already without adding anything here.

Gordon writes a very good review of Social Class in American Sociology from "The Middle Twenties" to the present day, although his interpretation of Marx and Weber is incorrect, as has already been pointed out. In attempting to formulate "A System of Social Class Analysis," Gordon proposes that "the term social classes be applied to the major status divisions which stratify a community, the term economic classes be used to designate segments of the

economic power continuum (however divided), the term political classes be used to designate segments of the politico-community power continuum, and the term occupational classes be applied to groups in an occupational classification where the classification has been validated against a specified stratification variable." Thus Gordon has started out with "three basic stratification variables --economic power, political power, and social status," and ended up with four different stratification systems within American society. Gordon has apparently derived his four types of classes from a synthesis of Sorokin's three types of "social stratification,"--economic, political and occupational, and the three "dimensions of stratification" which he erroneously attributes to Weber: "economic position, social status, and 'power.'"[24]

Any attempt to synthesize the diverse theories and research approaches now available in stratification is doomed to failure from the very start, since they are, on the whole, unreconcilable. It is apparent that a new approach is necessary. In the rest of this chapter, I shall attempt to set forth the necessary requisites for, as well

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[24]Gordon, op. cit., pp. 13-14, 53-54, 248-51.

as a theoretical model of a unified structural-functional theory of stratification.

II. BASIC POSTULATES FOR AN INTEGRATED THEORY OF ORGANIZATION AND STRATIFICATION

This stratification theory will be constructed upon the basis of a number of postulates, which are outlined as follows:

1. Sociological theory and empirical research are interdependent and interrelated. One cannot be developed independently of the other.

2. Organization and stratification are complementary aspects of societal relationships. A theory of stratification must be based upon and developed out of a sound and systematic theory of organization.

3. A theory of organization and stratification must be a theory of meaningful (social) interaction.

4. Organization and stratification must be in terms of positions rather than persons.

   (a) Role theory offers the most promising approach for this theory.

5. Stratification must be defined in terms of the distribution of power within society.

6. Class theory must be based upon the relation of positions to economic production and distribution.

7. All other evidences of stratification: style of life, life chances, prestige, are consequences rather than bases of stratification. They may sometimes be used as indicators of stratification position, but this must be done with great caution, especially in an economically prosperous class society.

8. Stratification theory must be applicable at any level of organization--group, association, community or society.

9. The best model (although certainly not the only one) for a theory such as the one outlined above is the structural-functional model.

Let us now examine these basic postulates one by one.

1. Interrelationship of Stratification Theory and Empirical Research

It seems almost redundant by now to suggest that stratification theory and empirical research should go hand-in-hand down the path of scientific development like two young lovers, sharing all secrets, aiding and abetting each other in every way possible, and merging finally into

one happy couple, produce healthy and vigorous scientific offspring. But contrary to this idyllic view, many have been the "miraculous" issue, conceptual or methodological, in the science of stratification--knowing not father or mother.

The stratification theories of Saint-Simon, Giddings (except for his social-economic class listing, which was unrelated to his theory), Ross, Ward and Sumner, for example, have little if any relationship to or relevance for stratification research.

The classical theorists laid the groundwork for a theory of stratification in terms of power and economic interests. They demonstrated the applicability of this theory to descriptive, comparative and historical research. But they failed to provide a practical methodology for empirical quantitative research. This is not intended as a criticism, however; these pioneers in stratification theory laid the basis for future sociologists to build upon. But the empirical researchers who followed them failed to profit by their insights, as we have just seen. The American community investigators searched for a phenomenon called class, which they believed to exist but were unable to define, by developing a certain methodology and asking

a certain set of questions, and the data which resulted were classified and labelled as "upper-upper class," "lower-upper class," etc. Had the investigators asked a different set of questions, or utilized a different methodology, they might have come up with something entirely different which they would have still labelled as social class.

The public opinion questionnaires on class identification, class perception, or class "consciousness" are not based on sound stratification theory, as we have just seen. The occupational studies in England and America based upon census data have come the closest to developing a useful research methodology. In these studies, the researchers have correctly perceived that class in a large, contemporary society can be measured most successfully by taking occupation as an index to class position. But, not having a clear conceptualization of the relationship between theory and research, they have ended up with a measure and a classification not of class but of occupations, themselves.

The contemporary synthesists of stratification theory have attempted to combine theory and research, but with varying results. The first such attempts failed completely since the authors tried merely to combine the

results of previous theory and research, which were in no way comparable. Later writers, after developing sometimes elaborate theories of social stratification, oftentimes based upon the classical theorists, ended by deciding that some previously developed occupational classification is the best available index of social class. But, unfortunately, they are not able to provide the logical connection between their stratification theories and the occupational classifications.

The first major premise, therefore, under which a theory of stratification must be constructed is that theory and empirical research must go hand-in-hand, first in the developmental and conceptual stage, and later in the stages of expansion and refinement. Theory must be based upon observation and experience and research must flow logically and consistently from theory. Further changes in one must result in modifications and revisions of the other.[25]

In this dissertation I shall attempt to develop a theory and research methodology which are logically

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[25]See Merton, op. cit., Chapters II and III, for a more elaborate and complete discussion of this problem.

interrelated. But by the definition given above this cannot be presented as the final stratification construct, but rather as a tentative model, which must be amenable to modification and revision as stratification theory and research progress.

2. Complementary aspect of organization and stratification

One of the causes for past failures in stratification theory is undoubtedly the fact that most theories have been developed independently of a general theory of organization. This is true of Marx: his interest lay primarily in the problems generated by the economic system, and he was therefore more interested in stratification than in organization. The early American sociologists, on the other hand, were more interested in organization than in stratification, and their stratification views were consequently given minor consideration, and were little related to their theories of organization. Especially unrelated to a theory of organization have been the community studies, the public opinion surveys, the prestige and occupational indices, and unfortunately, also the recent, attempted syntheses.

The stratification theories of Weber, Toennies and

Heberle have certainly been based upon a systematic theory of organization, but even in their writings, stratification is generally treated, both generically and functionally, as independent of organization. Sorokin, on the other hand, specifically states that "organization and stratification are inseparable," and he treats them as interrelated aspects of societal phenomena. He defines organization as the vertical differentiation of society into unibonded and multibonded groups, and stratification as the horizontal division of society into various social strata.[26]

The position taken here is that organization and stratification are complementary aspects of all societal relationships, and a theory of stratification cannot be developed without first having a clearly formulated theory of organization upon which stratification theory must then be built. In addition, organization and stratification must be considered, structurally and functionally,

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[26]Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics; A System of General Sociology (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), pp. 276, 278. Sorokin gives an excellent description of caste, estate and class, but he considers these as "multibonded groups" rather than as stratification groupings (pp. 256-75). He also presents some devastating criticisms of the Warner community studies, and of many of the popular definitions of class (pp. 261-95).

as interdependent and interrelated. Finally, a complete theoretical discussion or empirical investigation of any social aggregate--group, association, community or society, must include stratificational as well as organizational aspects.

As the terms will be defined in this dissertation, organization refers to the functional arrangement (structure) of interacting positions, whereas stratification pertains to the hierarchical arrangement of positions in terms of the allocation of power. Thus organization refers to structure and function in the general sense, while stratification refers specifically to the structural-functional power relationships.

3. A theory of social interaction

It has long been recognized that sociology is concerned primarily with meaningful interaction. Max Weber defines sociology as "a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects." Social action, in turn, includes "all human behaviour when and in so far as the acting individual attaches a subjective

meaning to it."[27] Sorokin defines the "most generic model" for sociology as "the meaningful interaction of two or more human individuals." By "meaning" Sorokin understands (in the words of C. I. Lewis), "anything which, for some mind, stands as a sign of something else."[28]

Hence it follows that stratification, if it is to be a true sociological concept, must be related to meaningful human interaction. Yet much of the failure of stratification theories results from neglecting this important fact.

Castes in India have long been recognized as interacting collectives, in which the types and degree of interaction, both within and between the castes, are carefully defined by generally recognized and accepted social norms. Each person knows, by virtue of his caste position, what kinds of interaction between himself and other persons, within and outside his caste, are expected, what kinds are permitted, and what kinds are prohibited. Similarly the estates of Medieval Europe are generally recognized to have been interacting entities, with clearly defined norms

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[27]Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, p. 88.

[28]Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality, p. 40.

pertaining to interaction within and among the various estates.

But when we come to classes we find that, as defined by many theorists, classes are not interacting collectives. The broad occupational categories of all professional persons, or all proprietors, managers and officials, etc., are certainly not interacting social collectives, Edwards notwithstanding (see Chapter II). Especially are the results obtained from class position self-ratings far removed from sociological concepts of interactional entities --imagine, if you may, of an interacting "Working Class" collective composed of 52 per cent of the total population, derived on the basis of self-ratings in Centers' study. Warner defines classes in terms of prestige rankings. The families that finally get classified into the "lower-lower" or the "upper-lower" class are not, by any stretch of the imagination, interacting collectives. It is interesting to note, however, that the "upper-upper," and to a certain extent the "lower-upper," are more truly interacting collectives, and as we go down the Warnerian class scale we find less and less of the characteristics of an interacting collective.

Marx recognized the interactional aspect of classes

in all of his writings. His emphasis on class conflict and his prediction of the coming communist revolution are predicated upon the basis of unified interaction within and between the various classes, originating from interaction between persons belonging to different classes: employers-employees, etc. Even more: according to Marx, the bourgeoisie creates the proletariat! Marx's concept of class consciousness is evidence of his recognition of the subjective (or meaningful) aspect of class interaction. Weber and Toennies, of course, placed great emphasis upon the interactional aspect of stratification groupings.

Stratification theory, then, must be developed in terms of meaningful interaction, and stratification categories must be composed of interacting positions, or of positions which normally and frequently lead to interaction among the holders of those positions, or of positions which lead to interaction more easily and more frequently by the members within each class grouping than by those between or among different groupings.

4. A theory of positions rather than persons

Many social scientists insist that societies are composed of people, and cannot be defined in any other way. A

standard definition of society is: "A group of human beings cooperating in the pursuit of several of their major interests, invariably including self-maintenance and self-perpetuation. . ." (italics mine).[29] Although it is obviously true that people are a necessary ingredient of society, this nevertheless constitutes only half of the whole truth. Societies are composed of people and positions (and the roles and norms associated with them). It sounds silly to say that only people can interact, and yet it is also a fact that people interact only in terms of their positions, roles and norms--even deviant behavior must be explained in these same terms. As much as the believers in free will and voluntarism might wish it otherwise, it is undoubtedly true that positions determine men's thoughts and actions more than their thoughts and actions influence their positions--although there is some reciprocal influence, of course. In fact, the latter is one of the factors contributing to social change. But, in the short run, and on the whole, we all are products of our environment, and of the role expectations of the positions into which we are, literally, cast

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[29]Henry Pratt Fairchild (ed.), Dictionary of Sociology (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), p. 300.

by our birth, as well as of the social structure in which we live.

It is often said: men die but society goes on. What can this statement possibly mean if society is made up simply of people? Suppose, for example, society Alpha is composed of individuals A, B, C, D, and E. When these individuals are all dead, how can society Alpha continue to exist? Because, the answer goes, A, B, C, D, and E have been replaced by F, G, H, I, and J. But this is no longer the same society, but rather a new society, Beta, if societies are composed of individuals. The way out of this apparent dilemma is simple. Society Alpha is composed of positions V, W, X, Y, and Z, which are occupied by individuals. When person A, who occupies position V, dies, he is replaced by F, and the roles associated with position V are carried on by F. And the same is true of position W, which is occupied first by B, who is later replaced by G. And so with the other positions. Thus, we conclude, it is the positions V, W, X, Y, and Z which comprise society Alpha, and which continue on through an extended period of time, whether occupied by persons A, B, C, D, and E or persons F, G, H, I, and J, or their successors.[30]

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[30]I am not overlooking the possibility of change in the

The same thing may be said of a group. Suppose, for example, we have the Jones family, consisting of husband, wife, son and daughter. The wife dies, the husband remarries, and two more children are born. This is not the same group, if we think in terms of individuals. But the Jones family still goes on. True, many changes have taken place; roles have been redefined with the change in spouse, and new roles added with the new children, but the basic positions of husband-father, wife-mother, child-parent, and child-sibling, remain; the same basic roles must be performed; the same norms and goals prevail. We may say, therefore, that the same family group remains, but with changes in the composition of the members.

This helps to clarify another problem. Consider a group of ten L.S.U. students engaged in a student election campaign. One member gets sick, another is called home on an emergency, and a third loses interest and drops out. These three members are replaced by three new members, who take over their positions, roles and norms. The group has not changed, although its membership composition has. The

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social structure, which, of course, occurs almost constantly, but am merely simplifying in this context for purposes of elucidation.

election is eventually over, and the group is about to dissolve. But one member (not a leader in the campaign group) suggests that the members continue to work together as a discussion group to consider academic problems, and all ten members agree. This is no longer the same group, although the membership composition is the same, because the positions, roles, norms and goals are new and different. Thus the group is determined by the positions, roles, norms and goals, and not by the members. Suppose, however, that in the case of the campaign group, an eleventh member was added to fill a new position which became necessary in the course of the campaign, and with this new position there resulted a redefining of roles and norms of the other members--perhaps a change in several positions--this would result in a different group, although the goals remained the same.

It should be apparent from the above that role theory offers the most promising approach for a unified theory of organization and stratification based upon positions rather than persons. Perhaps the clearest and most systematically worked-out elucidation of role theory is to be found in the writings of Frederick L. Bates, whose views will be discussed a little later. In a tentative statement on "The Application of Role Theory to the Study of Social

Stratification," Bates asserts that "Sociologists should take the point of view that a stratum or a rank category consists of a collection of social positions rather than a collection of people." The manner in which people come to occupy positions, for example, by ascription or achievement, is recognized by Bates as being important, but he maintains that "the central focus ought to be on the positions and their structure." It is also of interest to sociologists to determine the manner in which the positions of an individual correspond in rank, for example, "how the station of a person tends to contain positions of similar rank. But what is more important to the sociologist is how the positions relate to each other in horizontal and vertical dimensions." Finally, Bates indicates what I have been maintaining in the preceding pages, that "the structure of a system of rank, or of a system of stratification will not be revealed by studying individuals but by studying the positions they occupy."[31]

Warner's methodology consists of allocating individuals and families into social classes on the basis of their

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[31]Frederick L. Bates, "The Application of Role Theory to the Study of Social Stratification," mimeographed outline, April, 1960, p. 1.

various kinds of verbalizations regarding classes, themselves and others, prestige, styles of life, etc. Self-rating questionnaires also classify individuals on the basis of their own verbal expressions. Weber, on the other hand, developed his class and estate theory in terms of class positions and estate positions, and defined a class (or an estate) as a group of persons occupying the same class (or estate) position. Similarly, the stratification theory proposed here is a theory of stratification positions; and the problem of the allocation of individuals to the various stratification positions, as well as the mobility of individuals from one stratification position to another, will be discussed separately.

Occupational indices are measures of occupational positions within a society. Occupational positions are, in turn, a key to stratification positions, and will therefore be used to develop a measure of stratification positions, but this involves a classification based not upon the type of occupation (as is the case with previously developed occupational indices) but upon the stratification group in which the particular occupation is usually found, or, stated more precisely, the stratification group access to which is more readily and more frequently obtained by the

occupation in question.

5. Stratification as a theory of the distribution of power within society

As is suggested by the title of this dissertation, the Sociology of Stratification is (or should be) concerned primarily with the power structure of society, with the functions and dysfunctions of the power system, and of changes occurring within the system or changes from one power system to another.

Power and authority are related, but they should not be confused. Weber defines power (Macht) as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests."[32] Arnold Rose defines power as "the extent to which a person or group can control the behavior of another person or group, along with the possession of means to enforce this control."[33] And Ross and van den Haag define power simply as "the

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[32]Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, p. 152.

[33]Arnold M. Rose, Sociology; The Study of Human Relations (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), p. 565.

ability to use force to reduce the independence of other persons--to impose one's wishes on them."[34] All of these definitions are acceptable for our present purposes.

Authority, on the other hand, is defined by Ross and van den Haag as "the ability to control the behavior and thoughts of others without either persuading them rationally or compelling them physically to carry out orders."[35] Weber defines authority (Herrschaft; sometimes translated as "legitimate authority" or "imperative control") as "the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons."[36]

Power may lead to authority, and vice versa, or either may be possessed with or without the other. But the basis to stratification is to be found in power, although if the ruling groups possess authority as well as power the stratification system is apt to be much more stable over time, as well as being less beset with "class" (or other

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[34]Ralph Ross and Ernest van den Haag, The Fabric of Society; An Introduction to the Social Sciences (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957), p. 88.

[35]Ibid., p. 83.

[36]Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, p. 152.

stratification type) conflicts. If, on the other hand, the ruling groups possess authority without power they may well lose their ruling position to other, power-seeking, groups. In defining stratification in terms of power (primarily) and authority, we are following in the footsteps of Millar, Marx and Weber.

6. A class theory based upon the relation of positions to production and distribution

Now we have to make a distinction between different types of stratification systems. As they will be defined in the next chapter, caste, estate and class are the three basic types of stratification systems, and are related to different types of economy. Caste arises in a preindustrial type of economy, in which the basic source of physical energy is human labor (supplemented perhaps by animal labor), and if it is able to survive the impact of advanced methods of cultivation, of manual craftsmanship and trade, caste is bound to break down with the pressures of advanced industrialization and commercialization and the predominance of a market economy (as is happening today in India). A caste system may be found in a predominantly agricultural, religious, or militant society.

Estates are typical of predominantly agrarian societies in which the division of labor is essentially organized on the basis of "plantations," or plantation-like "estates." The estate system of power stratification extends to the entire society, urban as well as rural. Societies stratified on the basis of estates may also be predominantly agricultural, religious or militant. The essential difference between castes and estates, as they will be defined in this dissertation, is the manner in which power is allocated among the various functional areas, religious, political, economic, etc., and not the degree of mobility (see Chapter IV). Estates, like castes, are subject to dissolution with the growth of the market economy.

Classes are typical of an industrialized, commercialized, market-oriented economy. They may also be found in preindustrial, nonliterate societies with a "primitive" type of production and exchange, where the emphasis is on production and market distribution.

The above discussion refers to the relation of the three types of stratification systems to various types of economy. But the basis and source of the three stratification systems is something different. Caste has its source and its legitimation in the religious and legal systems,

and often (but not always, nor necessarily) in the relationships established among various ethnic groups (leading to ethnic solidarity). Estates have their origin and authority in law and sheer power, although validation is often sought and obtained in religion and kinship. But class, alone, derives from and is determined in form by "naked" economic power. Classes may and do seek authority through legal, and even religious, sanctions, and may strive toward kinship stabilization through a monopolization of life chances by the upper groups, but the basis for class is the relationship to production and distribution of economic goods.

Both Marx and Weber have contributed significantly to this theory. Marx has pointed out the importance of property relations to the formation of classes and the distinguishing of class positions. Weber has accepted Marx's basic proposition, but has placed the emphasis rather on the market relations. Weber's distinction between property classes and acquisition classes will constitute an important part of our class theory to be formulated in the next chapter.

7. Secondary characteristics of stratification

All other characteristics of stratification: bases

for selection of individuals for the various stratification positions, degree and type of individual or group mobility, "openness" or "closedness," style of life, life chances, and prestige, are consequences of the system of power allocation within society, and should not be considered as bases or causes for the stratification system. They may, however, be used as indicators of stratification position, but this must be done with great caution. Style of life, for example, may be an excellent indicator for estate position in medieval Europe, but it is not accurate or reliable when applied to a prosperous commercial center in the United States today. Degree of mobility may be quite unrelated to type of stratification system or to stratification position. Thus there may be more mobility within a caste than a class system, and there may be more mobility within the lower than the upper classes, or vice versa. The problem of using prestige as an indicator of class position has already been discussed at length.

For these reasons, occupations, which may be empirically allocated to the various classes, will be used as the best possible indicator of class position.

8. A theory applicable at any level of organization

Heretofore, theories of stratification have usually been written in terms of entire societies--although, in fact, they have often omitted large segments of the societal population. Empirical studies, on the other hand, have usually been restricted to "communities" (more often actually towns or cities), or to representative or stratified samples of societal or regional populations. Sorokin, however, does consider "stratification" as "an inalienable trait of any organized group." Sorokin discusses at considerable length the "unibonded stratification" of "unibonded groups" and the "multibonded stratification" of "multibonded groups," considering both the stratification within groups as well as that among groups with respect to each other. But, unfortunately, although Sorokin criticizes the confusion of many writers in failing to distinguish between stratification and mere ranking, he falls victim to this error himself. His "intra- and interoccupational stratification," for example, is nothing but a ranking of occupations in terms of "inequality." He delineates the teaching "hierarchy," "topped by the state secretaries of education, presidents of universities and of academies of

science and the like, with intermediate strata of university deans, full-, associate- and assistant-professors; then come principals and teachers in high schools; and last there are the elementary school teachers."[37] In the first place, it would be difficult to conceive of this "hierarchy" as constituting an interacting social grouping. And, in the second place, Sorokin has combined within the same stratification level, public administrators, private educational administrators, and salaried professors and teachers, which shall be separated, in the theory being developed here, between the administrative and the professional service classes.

In recent studies of social classes in the United States, we find two distinct types of research--one for "communities" and one for societal studies. "Community" studies are usually restricted to prestige and self-placement ratings, and the "community" is actually a political organization, town or city, and not a community as the term will be defined here. Societal studies, on the other hand, are usually based upon statistical analyses of the Census data, or upon interviews with representative or "stratified"

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[37]Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality, pp. 265, 276-95.

samples of the entire population. As a result of these diverse approaches, we find Barber suggesting that "the structure of local stratification systems may differ not only from one another but from that of the stratification system of the whole society."[38]

It is here considered a basic postulate that the sociology of stratification should provide one theory and one methodology which may be applicable to stratification of any society at any level of organization--group, association, community or society.

9. The structural-functional model

Much has been said and written about structural-functional analysis--some in praise and some in condemnation, but actually this method is basic to all sociological inquiry. Structural-functionalism goes all the way back to Ferguson, who wrote that man "is only part of a whole," and should be studied in groups and not as individuals. But the real interest in structural-functional theory may be traced to the analogy of society to an organism in the writings of Comte and Spencer. We noted in Chapter I, for example,

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[38]Barber, op. cit., p. 93.

that Spencer explained the growth of classes in terms of the evolution of a structural-functional system of "regulative and operative parts." Structural-functional theory also found support in the comparison of society to a mechanical model, such as in Pareto's "logico-experimental" method.

There have been two major trends in contemporary structural-functional analysis. The first is found in the discipline of functional anthropology, which has its best exponents in Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, who took their cue partly from Spencer but mainly from Durkheim. The second trend is found in the recent structural systems of Parsons and his followers, modelled after the examples of Durkheim, Pareto and others. And here we discover an interesting divergence of interests. Although the functional anthropologists do not overlook the importance of structure, but recognize social and cultural systems as structural-functional "wholes," nevertheless in their empirical investigations they place the emphasis upon the functional interrelationships of the various parts. Parsons and some of his followers, on the other hand, give verbal recognition to function, and yet deal mostly with structure in their theories. Parsons' Social System, for example, is constructed almost entirely in terms of structure, with very

little systematic treatment of functions and dysfunctions.[39] It is to be noted that the functional anthropologists use the concepts, structural and functional, primarily as methodological concepts, whereas Parsons and other sociologists use them primarily in order to develop systematic sociological theory. This would suggest that the methodological interest would result in a focus upon function, whereas the theoretical interest would result primarily in a focus on structure.

Merton has attempted to set this matter right in his very excellent treatise on "Manifest and Latent Functions," in which he outlines "A Paradigm for Functional Analysis in Sociology." A significant contribution is his clarification of the terms, "manifest" and "latent functions," and his clear distinction between "functional," "dysfunctional," and "non-functional."[40]

In a recent castigation of structural-functionalism, Dahrendorf compares contemporary theories of "social systems" to the "utopian image of society." He writes: "The social system, like utopia has not grown out of familiar

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[39]Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951).

[40]Merton, op. cit., Chapter I.

reality. Instead of abstracting a limited number of variables and postulating their relevance for the explanation of a particular problem, it represents a huge and allegedly all-embracing superstructure of concepts that do not describe, propositions that do not explain, and models from which nothing follows."[41]

Although Dahrendorf's criticism of Parsons' social system, and that of other contemporary writers, as a static model, may be correct, Dahrendorf is wrong in implying that this also holds for all structural-functional analysis. Although I dislike the continual reference to the analogy between society and an organism or a mechanical system (because society is not an organism nor a mechanical system, and the analogy proves nothing), nevertheless I feel forced to comment on it since Dahrendorf himself does. Certainly an organism is not a static system; as long as the organism is alive, it is processual system engaged in constant interactivity within and between the various organs, structures and systems, and it is constantly undergoing change--from within, due to the decay and destruction of tissues,

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[41]Ralf Dahrendorf, "Out of Utopia: Toward a Reorientation of Sociological Analysis," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (1958), 115-27.

cells, etc., and the growth of new ones, and from without, caused by living organisms and by all the external influences--heat and cold, food and poisons, conflict with other organisms, accidents, etc. And in the ordinary interactional process within the organism, some of the activity is functional, some dysfunctional and some non-functional.

The mechanical model is, of course, much more precise but still not static. The mechanical model, if skillfully built, is free from dysfunctional and non-functional activity. And it cannot replace its own worn-out parts. But the mechanical model is in a constant state of activity or process (the automobile engine, for example, is not really an engine when not running, but simply a pile of metal, rubber, wire, etc.), and it is constantly undergoing change with the wearing out of parts resulting in the failure to operate efficiently unless constantly repaired from the outside.

But irrespective of the above analogies, I see no reason why the structural-functional model cannot be developed to take care of all the aspects involved in a comprehensive and systematic study of society. I agree with Dahrendorf that the concept of dysfunction is not sufficient to explain conflict and change, but this simply means that

the model needs further development and refinement.

Although I prefer the structural-functional model for the development of a theory of stratification, I recognize that this is not the only possible model, nor necessarily the "best" one--when I said at the beginning of this section that the structural-functional model was the "best model," I meant best for the type of theory which is outlined in this section, and for the purposes in mind--a theory which may serve as the basis for descriptive, explanatory and quantitative studies of any stratification system at any level of organization. But Dahrendorf's "conflict model of society" is equally valid, and for some purposes is undoubtedly more useful than the one preferred here.

III. CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

It is well recognized today in the social sciences that one must begin almost any theoretical discussion by defining his terms. Many hours of verbal discussion and countless pages in our all-too few professional journals are wasted in wrangling over concepts when, in fact, the basic differences of opinion may be a matter of <u>definition</u> of concepts rather than of the conceptualizations, themselves.

It is, therefore, somewhat redundant to remark that one should first define his terms and thus make possible a constructive argument concerning ideas and theories rather than engaging in a useless controversy over definitions. Unfortunately this might be the whole truth, were it not for the fact that sociologists, like ordinary men, must communicate with others and communication is bound to bog down in a morass of compounding of confusion should each of us take the easiest way out by constructing his own and possibly unique definition for every term he uses.

It is therefore with a sincere desire to add no further confusion to the present unsettled state of stratification theory that I shall attempt to adhere to accepted terms and definitions in so far as possible. Unfortunately, however, there are few terms which are needed in developing a theory of stratification which are currently blessed within the profession with universally accepted and recognized definitions. In addition, there seem to be insufficient concepts presently available, and distinguishable from each other, to cover each of the aspects of stratification phenomena which need to be defined.

I shall therefore attempt to utilize as far as possible currently accepted concepts, and to use them within

the context of their generally recognized meanings, whenever this can best be done. In some cases, however, I shall be forced to depart from current practice, defining old terms in a somewhat different manner, and introducing new terms into stratification theory in order to describe categories not hitherto delimited.

In the first place, it may be noted that at the beginning of this dissertation I used the terms "social organization," "social stratification," and "social class." This was done so as to conform to currently accepted usage, and also so as not to deviate from the very theories being reviewed. But more and more I have dropped the term "social" and referred simply to "organization," "stratification," and "class." It seems that "social stratification" is tautological in the present context--I would not be referring to any other kind of stratification. The same thing is true of organization, class, and group. "Social action" is another matter, however. We need to distinguish between social action and individual action. And social action or interaction must be distinguished from economic action, political action, religious action, etc.--social action being the generic type, and economic, political, religious, etc., the special types.

IV. A PARADIGM FOR A THEORY OF ORGANIZATION AND STRATIFICATION

As a tentative first step in the direction of developing a unified theory and research methodology in organization and stratification, the following paradigm is presented, with the basic concepts, definitions and suggested interrelations.[42] Much of this paradigm is not new, but represents merely a codification of what has already been discussed in the preceding pages or in other sources. But some of this is new, and represents the proposed direction which future theory and research should follow.

I. Differentiation of Positions, Roles, Norms and Functions

Society is composed of Positions, each of which in turn contains a set of Roles defining the expected behavior

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[42] See Merton, op. cit., for a detailed and lucid statement of the purpose and operation of analytical paradigms (pp. 13-16). According to Merton, paradigms "provide a compact parsimonious arrangement of the central concepts and their interrelations as these are utilized for description and analysis." They "bring out into the open air for all to see the array of assumptions, concepts and basic propositions employed in a sociological analysis." And they "suggest the systematic cross-tabulation of presumably significant concepts and may thus sensitize the analyst to types of empirical and theoretic problems which might otherwise be overlooked."

(Functions) of that Position. Every Role is regulated by a set of Norms, which guide the behavior of the individual occupying the particular Position (See Figure 1).

A. Positions

Positions are structural units within a social system. Positions are filled by individuals, but it is important to note that one person can and does occupy several positions within a social system.

1. Status. Status is the generic unit of society; it is the basic position. Bates defines status (or "position") as "A location in a social structure which is associated with a set of social norms."[43] Every group is composed of a number of statuses. Thus the family (sometimes called the completed family) is composed of Male Head, Female Spouse, and Child (or

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[43]Frederick L. Bates, "Position, Role, and Status: A Reformulation of Concepts," Social Forces, XXXIV (1956), 314. Bates considers the terms "social position" and "social status" as synonymous, and drops the latter. I prefer this earlier definition of status to his more recent one: "Positions . . . are defined as sets of roles which occur at a point in social space," because the latter fails to make a distinction between positions (statuses) and roles--"Institutions, Organizations, and Communities: A General Theory of Complex Structures," The Pacific Sociological Review, III (1960), 59.

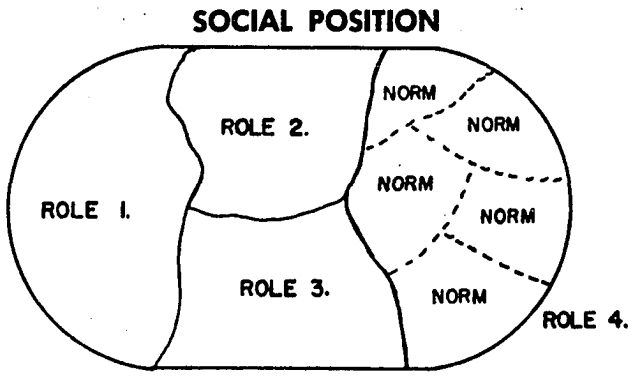

Figure 1. Basic Structural Units. Note that "Social Position" is synonymous with "status" as used in this paradigm. Reproduced from Frederick L. Bates, "Institutions, Organizations, and Communities: A General Theory of Complex Structures," The Pacific Sociological Review, III (1960), 59, by permission of the author.

children). Every individual occupies only one status in every group to which he belongs.

Status is a structural concept, and is not to be confused with function or prestige, as do so many of the contemporary writers. The present usage of the term is in essential agreement with that of Maine, who considered status as the basic source of an individual's general position in society. To Maine, however, one's status was derived from his family. I have expanded the application of the term to refer to one's basic position in every group to which he belongs. But Maine's general idea still holds: for example, one's general position in the economic sphere is determined by his occupational status, his position at L.S.U. derives from his academic status, etc. The present usage is also in agreement with Max Radin, who considers status a legal term.

a. Substatus. A status may be divided into a number of substatuses. For example, the status of Male Head of Family may be divided into the substatuses of: Son of aged

mother, Husband, and Father. In a fraternal group (club) the status of Secretary-Treasurer may be divided into the substatuses of Secretary, Treasurer, and Chairman of the Finance Committee.

b. Role. Every status contains or is associated with, a set of roles, or expected behavior patterns. Role is a functional concept, and refers to the types of activity which are essential to the status in its relative position within the social system. Bates defines role as: "A part of a social position (status) consisting of a more or less integrated or related sub-set of social norms which is distinguishable from other sets of norms forming the same position (status)."[44] I prefer to say that a status is subject to, rather than "consists of" a set of norms.

c. Norm. Every role is based upon a set of norms which guide and regulate the

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[44]Bates, "Position, Role, and Status," p. 314.

behavior of the person performing the role. Bates defines a norm as: "A patterned or commonly held behavior expectation. A learned response, held in common by members of a group."[45] Norm is the key concept in organization. As Heberle writes, "human relations are social relationships in the strict sense if and insofar as they contain a normative element, a sense of mutual obligation."[46] Heberle thinks of norms as "rules of conduct."

d. Types of Roles. Bates distinguishes between different types of roles as follows:

(1) Area of activity.

(a) Intramural roles require behavior totally within the group or association.[47]

(b) Extramural roles exist within

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[45]Ibid.

[46]Rudolf Heberle, "The Normative Element in Neighborhood Relations," The Pacific Sociological Review, III (1960), 3.

[47]Bates uses the term "organization," which I prefer to keep as a general term.

> the structure of a group or association but require behavior outside that group or association (p. 62).[48]

(2) Reciprocal Roles. Bates defines reciprocality as "such a relationship existing among the norms composing two roles that the performance of one is contingent upon the performance of the other. Hence, the norms comprising one role are said to imply and require the norms composing the other role" (p. 59).[49] Bates distinguishes two types of reciprocality (in contrast to the conventional view), as follows:

(a) Bilateral reciprocality: the

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[48]For the sake of brevity, the page references which appear in parentheses hereafter refer to Bates, "Institutions, Organizations, and Communities."

[49]In a footnote, Bates adds: "In our scheme, reciprocality will always be between roles. Through reciprocal roles, positions are related to each other. Since this is true, frequently it will be convenient to refer to reciprocal positions. Whenever this is done it should be remembered that such positions contain at least one pair of reciprocal roles."

two statuses are occupied by different persons within the same group structure. Here the roles are intramural to the group.

(b) Reflexive (unilateral) reciprocality: the two statuses are occupied by the same person within a multigroup structure (p. 61). Here the roles are extramural to the group. See Figure 2 for an illustration of these concepts.

According to Bates, "Both types of reciprocality are forms of functional interdependence between roles. By this we mean that the related roles represent specialized aspects of the same system of action and are organized around the performance of some common function or the pursuit of some mutually sought goal" (p. 61).

(3) Conjunctive Roles unite individuals and groups within larger systems, such as communities and societies.

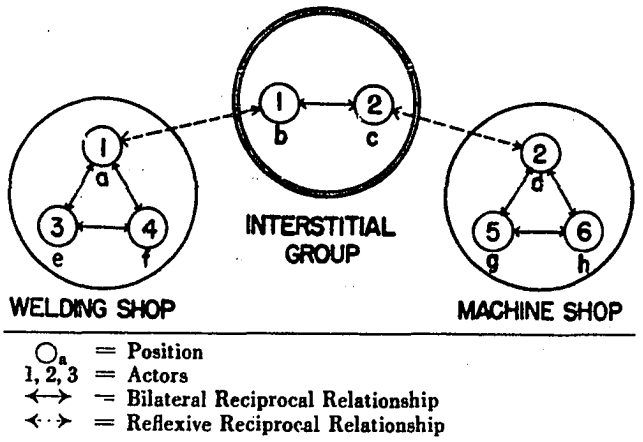

Figure 2. A Simple Multigroup Structure. Reproduced from Bates, "Institutions, Organizations, and Communities," p. 60, by permission.

Conjunctive roles differ from reciprocal roles in that they are oriented toward different goals, or functions (see Figure 3). According to Bates, "Two units of structure (roles, positions (statuses), or groups) are conjunctively related when (1) the behavior required by one occurs in conjunction with the behavior required by the other, and (2) when each is oriented toward a different general goal or function (p. 69). There are also two types of conjunctive roles: bilateral and reflexive.

(a) Bilateral conjunctivality refers to "a relationship between two persons occupying two positions (statuses) with different goals, neither of which can be accomplished except in conjunction with the other." Comparing this type of role relationship with intra-associational extramural roles, Bates says that whereas the latter

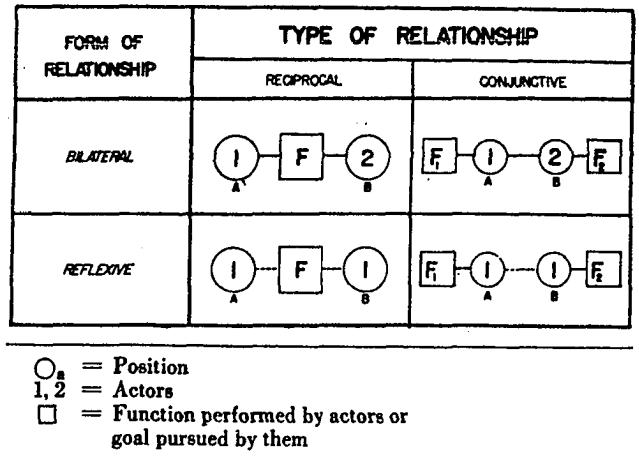

Figure 3. Classification of Role Relationships. Reproduced from Bates, "Institutions, Organizations, and Communities," p. 69, by permission.

"require behavior outside a given group towards specific alters, . . . those requiring behavior outside the organization require behavior towards one or more of a class of alters." In Figure 4 we may note that the representative of the factory (1) may do business with any official of any bank (2).

(b) Reflexive (unilateral) conjunctivality, according to Bates, "is based on the occupancy of two or more positions (statuses) by the same actor, when the goals towards which role behavior is directed are different. A number of organizations (associations) may be joined together by this type of relationship to form part of a community structure" (p. 63).

(4) Correlative Roles are roles which "serve the same purpose, perform the

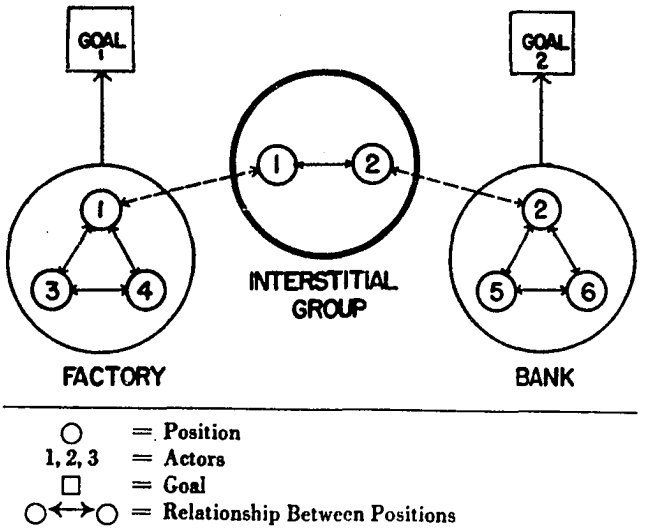

Figure 4. A Multi-Associational Situation Involving the Bilateral Conjunctive Relationship. Reproduced from Bates, "Institutions, Organizations, and Communities," p. 63, by permission.

> same function, or contribute to the accomplishment of a single type of goal, but . . . which . . .are neither reciprocally . . . nor conjunctively related." Examples given by Bates of this type of relationship are the father's role as socializer, the school teacher's role as instructor, the priest's role as teacher, which are all roles which perform the function of socializing initiates into the culture (p. 64).

2. Situs--refers to individuals. Situs is the sum of all the statuses held by the same individual within an association or other multigroup system. Bates defines situs as "A set of positions (statuses) customarily occupied by the same actor in a multigroup system" (italics mine),[50] which may be a better definition. Examples of situses are:

a. Occupational Situs: consists of all

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[50]Frederick L. Bates, "An Outline of Structural Concepts," mimeographed outline, December, 1958, p. 2.

the statuses a person in a given occupation is expected to occupy. For example, a college professor might be expected to hold the following statuses: colleague and member of X Department; member of Y and Z committees; member of Faculty Senate; Instructor in n. classes.

b. Kinship Situs. Would consist of status of husband-father in family of procreation; status of son-brother in family of orientation; status of son-in-law and brother-in-law in wife's kin group.

c. Religious Situs might consist of statuses of: member of X church; head of board of deacons; Sunday school teacher, etc.[51]

3. Standing. The position of an individual within his community (as community is defined a little later) is called his standing. Standing consists of the sum of all the statuses of an individual within the community. Standing

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[51]Adapted from ibid.,pp. 2-3.

applies to the entire family, so that a wife's or a child's standing is the standing of the husband-father. Standing, as used here, does not refer to prestige.

4. Locus is the position of an individual within the political organization in which he lives. It is the sum of all his statuses within that organization. For example, a Negro doctor or minister may have a high standing within the Negro community but a low locus within the city in which he lives. Locus also applies to the individual's entire family.

5. Station is the most comprehensive structural concept applied to the position of individuals. It is the position of an individual within the entire society. This is oftentimes referred to as one's "station in life." Station applies to a person's entire family, and not only includes all of his statuses, but also all those of his wife, his parents, and possibly his grown-up children and even his wife's parents. It was with this concept of family station that Schumpeter analyzed the

changes in class structure in Germany.

6. Location is the position of a collectivity (other than a group or association) within the community or society. Examples are:

a. Ethnic location of "Old Americans," Jews, Italians, etc.

b. Racial location of Negroes, Orientals.

c. Class location of big industrialists, salaried professionals, small subsistence farmers, unskilled laborers, etc.

B. Institutions

Institutions shall be defined as complex, organized patterns of behavior expectations necessary for the performance of some essential function in society. Thus I agree with Bates that the family is not an institution, although it is commonly considered as such, but rather an organized group. Examples of domestic institutions are: marriage, baptism, puberty rites, divorce, funeral ceremonies.

C. Functional (or Institutional) Areas

The various functions performed by roles may be classified into a number of different types or areas. This classification will become important for our later

discussion of stratification. The first six areas are basic in almost every society:

1. Domestic
2. Economic
3. Political
4. Legal
5. Military
6. Religious

The next six functional areas usually develop later in the growth and expansion of a society:

7. Educational
8. Medical
9. Scientific
10. Intellectual
11. Recreational
12. Aesthetic, artistic, literary, musical

II. Organization

Positions are organized into interacting structural-functional systems.

A. Social Organization

The term "social organization" is used in the general sense, as distinguished from special types of organization, for example, domestic organization,

economic organization, political organization.

1. Groups. The group is the basic unit of organization. According to Bates, "the structure of social groups . . . consists of a set of social positions (statuses) joined in a single structure by a web of (bilaterally) reciprocal role relations." We have already indicated that a single individual may occupy only one position within the structure of a group. Bates points out further that every position within a group must be reciprocally related to every other position in the group structure. Conversely, he adds, "any position which stands in a reciprocal relationship to all positions in a group structure is itself, by definition, a part of that structure" (p. 59). A group has a common goal or set of goals (or functions). See Figure 2 for an illustration of two groups and a third, "interstitial" group formed out of them. Groups may be classified according to functional (institutional) areas. Examples are:

a. Domestic groups: the family. The family is the basic group in society. Although the

family is a domestic group, it performs economic functions, political functions, religious functions, etc.

b. Economic groups: the welding shop group and the machine shop group (Figure 2).

c. Political groups: the United States Cabinet, the United States Supreme Court, the United States Senate.

2. Associations. According to Bates, associations (he calls them "Organizations") "are complex systems of groups which are unified into a single structure by a matrix of reciprocal relations, both bilateral and reflexive" (p. 69). An association has a common goal or set of goals (or functions). Examples of associations are:

a. Domestic associations: clan, gens, tribe.

b. Economic associations: bank, store, factory (see Figure 5), the A. F. L. - C.I.O.

c. Political associations: the United States Government, the Democratic Party--that is, the active members of the Party.

3. Community is sometimes thought of as a geographical area, sometimes as a type of social

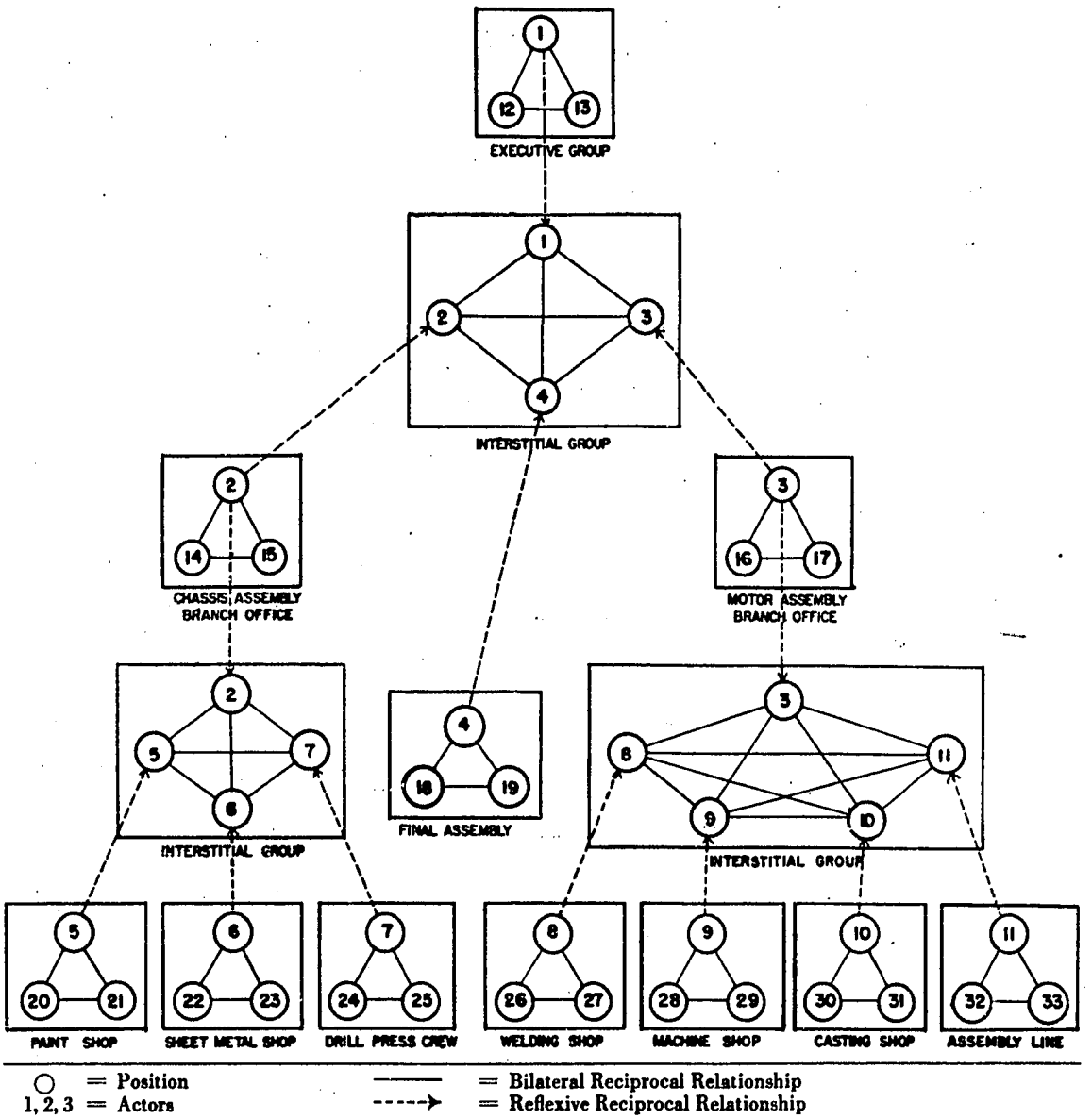

Figure 5. The Structure of an Economic Association. Reproduced from Bates, "Institutions, Organizations, and Communities," p. 66, by permission.

relationship. I strongly favor the latter usage. Bates defines communities as "complex systems of groups and organizations (associations) which are unified into a single structure by conjunctive relationships, both bilateral and reflexive" (p. 69). Thus residents of communities seek different goals, but in conjunction with each other, and I would add, one common goal--to meet the essential requirements of social life within the total community organization. See Figure 6 for an illustration of the structural definition of community. There are two basic types of communities:

a. Local communities. There are several communities within a city; hundreds (perhaps thousands) within a large metropolitan area. The so-called community studies identify the political unit--the city, with the social unit --the community. But communities within the cities are not defined in terms of geographical boundaries, but in terms of conjunctive social relationships.

(1) Negro-White communities. This concept enables us to speak of Negro-white

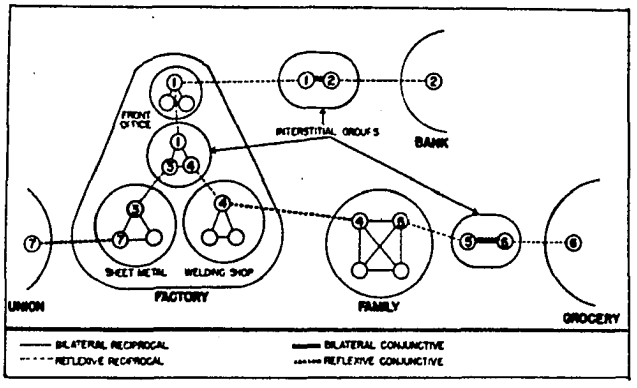

Figure 6. The Structure of a Community. Reproduced from Bates, "Institutions, Organizations, and Communities," p. 67, by permission.

relations in terms of communities rather than caste. In a large city, in the North as well as in the South, there are several Negro communities as well as many White communities. There are, of course, reciprocal and conjunctive relationships connecting the two types of communities, but there is one barrier which keeps them basically apart--race.

b. Extensive Communities. There are several communities which extend across a wide geographical and social area, perhaps covering a large section of the globe. Examples are the Finnish community in the United States, with regional centers in the New York Metropolitan Area, Upper Michigan, Minnesota, and elsewhere; the Jewish community in Central Europe prior to World War II; possibly the Jewish community in the United States (this requires further investigation). There are evidences that there may be in formation at the present time a Negro community in the South, through which realization of the varied goals of its

of its members may be sought through united effort.

4. Collectives are loosely organized totalities of individuals and groups who share reciprocal and conjunctive roles (active or potential), and who are united on the basis of one common goal or set of goals (or functions). Examples of collectives are:

a. Economic Collectives: classes (more on this later).

b. Political Collectives: "The Democratic Party," that is, not only those who actually belong to the Party association, but all those who consider themselves members of the Party, who work during elections, etc.

5. Society is the macrocosm of social organization. Society refers to the totality of groups, associations and communities which are bound together by conjunctive relationships. Society is the smallest whole unit in which all the functions of a collectivity may be met, and all the goals achieved. Society is often confused with a political organization, such as a nation-state.

For example, the United States is often thought of as the "American Society." And yet the United States is a state with political control over:

a. The main society, composed of several local regions and states; or from another point of view, several communities: racial, ethnic, religious, etc.

b. Several disfranchised societies: the Navaho, the Hopi, the Zuni, etc.

c. The disfranchised: migratory laborers, "wet-backs," isolated "mountain" and "back-woods" groups, rural Negroes in some areas of the country, prison inmates.

d. Isolates: hoboes, hermits, criminals.

This definition of society is essential to our stratification theory because, when we attempt to delineate the "societal stratification system," we must distinguish between the society and the larger political organization. For example, the "caste system of India" is often referred to as just that, and yet the caste system applies only to Hindu society--the Muslims and the many simply organized native tribes are outside the system (in

fact, the Muslim tribes have come to resemble castes, but Muslim writers insist that the "caste" principle is incompatible with the philosophy of Islam). In the United States, the disfranchised individuals, groups and societies are also outside the societal class system.

B. Categories

1. Income categories: often confused with classes, but may be needed in order to allocate certain occupations to their correct class position.

2. Occupational categories: also not classes, but may be used as an index to classes.

3. Religious categories: all "Catholics," all "Protestants."

4. Ethnic categories: all "Italians," socially defined, also all "Jews," all "Irish," etc., as socially defined.

5. Racial categories: all "Whites," all "Negroes," all "Orientals."

C. Political Organization

We have already indicated that the political organization must be distinguished from the social organization, for purposes of studying stratification. For

example, the city is larger than the community; the state is larger than the society.

III. Ranking of Positions within the Power Structure of Society

Positions are ranked along horizontal and vertical axes within the Power Structure of Society on the basis of (1) their relative functional importance to the society, and (2) the scarcity of qualified personnel to fill the positions, and (3) as the result of conflict or conquest, which imposes a particular ranking system upon the society. Most previous theories of stratification have emphasized one aspect (function or conflict) to the exclusion of the other. And many theories have not gone beyond the ranking stage into a real awareness of stratification (which we shall attempt to do in the next section).[52]

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[52]Undoubtedly the best-known, most widely accepted, and severely criticized exposition of the functional theory of stratification is that of Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore, in an article entitled "Some Principles of Stratification" (American Sociological Review, X (1945), 242-49). This article was preceded by an earlier article by Kingsley Davis, entitled, "A Conceptual Analysis of Stratification" (American Sociological Review, VII (1942), 309-21), which merely attempted to set forth a vocabulary for stratification analysis. An even earlier article by Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification" (American Journal of Sociology, XLV (1940), 849-62), considered social stratification as "the differential

A. Relative functional importance to the society as a whole

The ranking of positions within the power structure of society is based upon objective (operational),

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ranking of the human individuals who compose a given social system and their treatment as superior and inferior relative to one another in certain socially important respects." Parsons regards central for his discussion "the differential evaluation in the moral sense of individuals as units." He considers the "system of social stratification" to be "the actual system of effective superiority and inferiority relationships, as far as moral sanction is claimed for it," and the "scale of stratification" is [sic] the "normative pattern." (Parsons' article has since been revised and reformulated in Bendix and Lipset (eds.), op. cit., pp. 92-128).

Davis and Moore (in the article cited above) take a different point of view from that of Parsons in considering stratification as a system of ranking of positions rather than of individuals. They write: "As a functioning mechanism a society must somehow distribute its members in social positions and induce them to perform the duties of these positions. It must thus concern itself with motivation at two different levels: to instill in the proper individuals the desire to fill certain positions, and, once in these positions, the desire to perform the duties attached to them." According to Davis and Moore, it makes "a great deal of difference who gets into which positions, not only because some positions are inherently more agreeable than others, but also because some require special talents or training and some are functionally more important than others." The authors conclude that "Inevitably, . . . a society must have, first, some kind of rewards that it can use as inducements, and, second, some way of distributing these rewards differentially according to positions. The rewards and their distribution become a part of the social order, and thus give rise to stratification." These rewards consist of "the things that contribute to sustenance and comfort," "the things that contribute to humor and

but also normative (subjective) evaluations of their relative functional importance to the society as a whole.

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diversion," and "the things that contribute to self-respect and ego expansion." To Davis and Moore, stratification means "precisely" the necessity for the inequality of "the rights and perquisites of different positions in a society." "Hence every society," they declare, "no matter how simple or complex, must differentiate persons in terms of both prestige and esteem, and must therefore possess a certain amount of institutionalized inequality." Davis and Moore consider two factors as determinants of the relative rank of different positions in society: the differential functional importance of the position to the society, and the differential scarcity of personnel capable of performing the duties of the position. There are two ways, they say, in which an individual's qualifications are acquired: through inherent capacity or through training.

The functionalist theory of stratification, as presented by Davis and Moore, has its merits, and provides valuable material for our paradigm, but it also has its critical shortcomings. Melvin M. Tumin, in what is perhaps one of the most severe castigations of the functionalist theory, criticizes Davis and Moore for considering stratification as inevitable and inherently positively functional, and for failing to perceive the dysfunctions within a stratification system. In reply, Davis asserts that "no proof or disproof of a proposition about inevitability is possible," and that he and Moore were merely concerned with societies "as we find them." Furthermore, Davis believes that "any aspect of society is functional in some ways and dysfunctional in others." Nevertheless, I consider Tumin correct in criticizing the explicitly formulated theory of Davis and Moore for implying, at least, "the inevitability and positive functionality of stratification, or institutionalized social inequality in rewards, allocated in accordance with some notion of the greater and lesser functional importance of various positions." Tumin presents what I consider an excellent set of eight assertions regarding the dysfunctions

1. Types of evaluations.

a. Objective (operational) evaluations. For a society surrounded by militant enemies, or

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of stratification systems. In conclusion, Tumin suggests that the "negative functions," or dysfunctions, of institutionalized social inequality "cast doubt" on the contention of Davis and Moore that "Social inequality is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons" (Melvin M. Tumin, "Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Analysis," with replies by Davis and Moore, American Sociological Review, XVIII (1953), 387-97).

Walter Buckley correctly criticizes Davis and Moore, along with Bernard Barber (whose recent work, Buckley says, is a "detailed presentation of essentially the Davis-Moore functional view") for ignoring the distinction between stratification and differentiation, which occurs in any society, whether stratified or not. Buckley argues that, contrary to the expressed opinion of Davis and Moore, "It is (or was) rather firmly embedded in usage that stratification involves the existence of strata, generally agreed to refer to specifiable collectivities or subgroups that continue through several generations to occupy the same relative positions and to receive the same relative amounts of material ends, prestige, and power." Buckley criticizes the practice of the functionalists in considering stratification in terms of positions. He writes: "If we can agree that the term 'social strata' refers to social groups or collectivities, and not positions, and that stratification refers to the existence of strata in a society, then perhaps we should, logically, insist that stratification be defined in terms of groups or collectivities, not positions." This is one point, however, on which I cannot "agree" with Buckley. (Walter Buckley, "Social Stratification and the Functional Theory of Social Differentiation," American Sociological Review, XXIII (1958), 369-75).

In the conclusion of their article, Davis and Moore

for any society in times of danger arising from the possibility of military aggression, it might be considered functional to the safety and security of the society to place functional importance upon military enterprise (it might be considered otherwise, however; e.g., the principle of "nonviolence" of Gandhi and his followers). In a sparsely settled, but harsh environment, such as the upper regions of North America, it is certainly functional to place greatest importance on the economic functions of securing the necessities of life; religious functions may also

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suggest that any one stratification system is a composite, with which I agree. But then they add that "the danger of trying to classify whole societies under such rubrics as caste, feudal or open class is that one or two criteria are selected and others ignored . . . ," which is not necessarily correct.

Exactly opposed to the functionalist approach to stratification is the conflict theory, especially as expressed by Marx, and more recently by Dahrendorf. Weber and Toennies have correctly seen the operation of both function and conflict in stratification systems. Both the functional and the conflict theories provide pertinent information for the development of a theory of stratification, but either approach is one-sided and deficient by itself. This paradigm will therefore attempt to take both aspects of stratification into account, and will also try to avoid some of the pitfalls of earlier functional approaches.

be highly important functionally, to "explain" hardships and calamities, and as a release for interpersonal hostilities (e.g., the Eskimo).

b. Normative (subjective) evaluations. Under conditions other than those of severe necessity, economic, political, military, religious, etc., functions might be selected for high ranking within a society as the result of: "historical accident," culture contact and borrowing, conquest, personal desires and ambitions, degree of adaptability of the society to the physical and natural environment, "natural" adaptability to particular functions by the members of a society (based upon their social and cultural environment).

2. Relation of economy to the ranking system. The type of economy is related, as a causative factor, to the ranking system, but the ranking system, in turn, exercises a restricting or stimulating influence upon the type of economy. Millar and Marx have demonstrated how the method of economic production "determine" the social, legal and political institutions. But it is well known

that religion, for example, has often restricted or delayed the growth of an industrial and market economy. And Max Weber has demonstrated the relation of the "Protestant Ethnic" to the "Spirit of Capitalism."

3. Ranking of Functional Areas. In one society religion will be ranked in first place in functional importance; in another, military; in another, economic, etc. Even recreation has a differential ranking in different societies: e.g., the "Roman Holidays" vs. the staid self-denial of the Puritans.

4. Ranking of Positions in terms of functional importance.

a. Depending upon the ranking of functional areas. In a religious society, the position (and roles) of priests are ranked higher than those of warrior, merchant, craftsman, farmer. In a military society, the position of warrior may be ranked highest; in an economically oriented society, the position of banker or industrialist may hold top rank.

b. Depending upon the type of economy. In

an agricultural society, the positions of farmer and landlord may be ranked higher than of merchant; in an industrial society, the position of industrialist may be higher than that of landlord, the position of skilled craftsman higher than that of successful farmer.

c. Importance of the position to the function of the area. The position of bishop is ranked higher than that of priest; the position of banker higher than that of small shopkeeper; the position of industrialist higher than that of laborer, etc.

B. Scarcity of qualified personnel to fill the positions

The position may be highly important functionally to the successful operation of the society, but still not be ranked high simply because of the abundance of qualified personnel to fill it; e.g., positions of farm laborer, street-cleaner, garbage collector. Three of the important qualifications for the position are:

1. Personal qualities required for the position:

intelligence, strength, adaptability, manual dexterity, beauty, charisma, etc.

2. Technical competence (training) required for the position.

3. Willingness to perform the work required by the position; e.g., many people capable of performing function of executioner or hangman, but few willing.

C. Conflict and Conquest

A particular ranking system may be imposed upon the society as the result of successful conflict by a collectivity within the society, or as the result of conquest by another society. In such a case, the ranking system may not be based upon the relative functional importance of positions, or the scarcity of qualified personnel to fill them. It is suggested that this functionally incompatible ranking system would be unstable over time, unless maintained by physical force.

IV. Stratification

Stratification is defined as an explicitly or implicitly recognized functional system of differentiation and

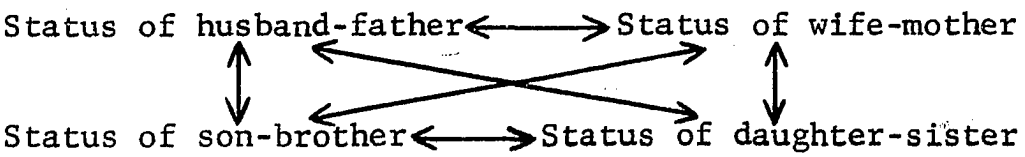
ranking of positions within groups, associations, communities, and the society, itself, which is standard for the society or a major segment of its structure (e.g., communities, tribal associations, clan associations), in terms of the unequal distribution of power, which system is relatively durable (stable) over a period of generations. Stratification may have its source in the willed, peaceful actions of individuals and groups, or in conflict or conquest. It may have its basis of differentiation in the relative functional ranking of functional areas, and/or in the type of productive and distributive economy. It has its consequences in differential styles of life, life chances, and prestige.

The essential elements of stratification are: (1) a system of ranking of positions, (2) applicable to a large segment of the societal structure, (3) durable over an extended period of time. Stratification is a functional system; it is based on the necessity for the unequal distribution of power and authority in order to preserve social order and make the social process possible; it is by definition relatively stable within a stable social system; but stratification does have its dysfunctional and non-functional aspects, and it is subject to change from forces

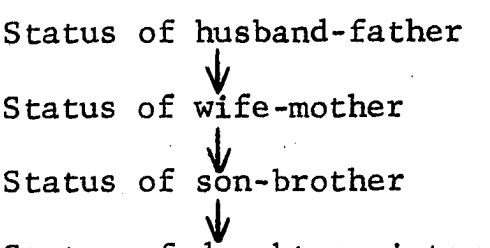
both outside and within the social system.

A. Stratification of Groups

Status forms the basis for the stratification of groups. Stratification of groups must not be confused with group organization. For example, the organization of the family might be diagrammed as follows:



The stratification of the family, however, might be represented as follows:



Thus, although the organization of the family would be quite similar in societies through time and space, the stratification forms would exhibit a great amount of diversity. The stratification system of the family, as well as other groups, by definition, is uniform for the entire society or a large segment thereof, and for a period of generations.

B. Stratification of Associations

Situs forms the basis for the stratification of associations. The various situses within an association are ranked in a hierarchy of power-related positions.

C. Community Stratification

Standing forms the basis for the stratification of communities. The various standings within the community are arranged in a hierarchy of power-related positions.

D. Political Area Stratification

We may speak of the stratification system of a city, for example, but it is in terms of the relationships among the various communities and associations within the city. Thus, certain situses in certain associations or types of associations, and certain standings within certain communities, offer certain stratification positions (locuses) within the city. A large city, possibly, and certainly a metropolitan area stratification system would be a reflection of the societal stratification system, and would be similar to it except for the absence of certain

classes (such as the agricultural classes).

E. Societal Stratification

Station forms the basis for the stratification of societies. In the next chapter we will develop three theoretical models for types of societal stratification systems, as follows:

1. Caste: stratification in terms of ranking of functional areas. Castes are associations or extended communities. Closed castes are kinship associations and communities.

2. Estate: stratification in terms of a vertical organization of functional areas, and ranking of positions within each area. Estates may be associations or communities; some may be quasi-communities.

3. Class: stratification in terms of the ranking of positions on the basis of their relationship to the production and distribution of goods (property and market relationships). Classes are collectives.

V. Recruitment of Individuals for the Positions may be on the basis of:

A. Inheritance of the position. In a closed caste system (such as Hindu India), recruitment of individuals for the positions is based upon inheritance of the caste occupation and the caste position. In an estate system, recruitment is based upon inheritance of estate position, property and titles, except for the clerical estate (in Medieval Europe) which had to recruit its members from among the other estates.

B. Personal qualities

In a freely competitive class system, recruitment of individuals for the positions is based upon personal qualities, such as sex, age, intelligence, personal attractiveness, physical strength, and:

C. Technical competence to perform the roles associated with the position. Technical competence may include such traits as education, knowledge, I.Q., training and skills, specialized knowledge concerning the roles.

D. Conflict and Conquest

Positions may be seized by individuals as a result

of conflict, for example, class conflict, or by conquest of one group (or society) by another.

VI. Mobility

Mobility refers to the movement of individuals or groups from one position to another within the stratification structure.

A. Types of Mobility

1. Horizontal mobility refers to the movement of individuals or groups from one position in the power (stratification) structure to another position with relatively equal power.

2. Vertical mobility refers to the movement of individuals or groups from one position in the power (stratification) structure to another position with lower (downward mobility) or higher (upward mobility) degree of power.

B. Mobility of individuals or groups

1. Individuals: in a class society, mobility is essentially an individual matter: each individual moves from one class position to another on the basis of qualification, individual initiative, competitive achievement, or "luck."

2. Groups: in a caste society, mobility is essentially a matter of group membership: an entire subcaste raises or lowers its caste position as a result of changing its occupation and manner of life.

C. Degree of mobility permitted by the stratification system

The different types of stratification systems (caste, estate and class) may be further differentiated according to the degree of mobility of individuals and groups which is permitted within the system. For purposes of classification, we may differentiate four types, as follows:

1. Open system: Completely "free" mobility from position to position.

2. Semiclosed system: Free mobility to most positions, but some positions (or some areas of the stratification system) are closed to mobility.

3. Semiopen system: Very little mobility permitted; or, mobility into only a few positions or a few areas of the stratification structure.

4. Closed system: No mobility is possible.

VII. Consequences of Stratification: Style of Life, Life Chances, Prestige

Style of life, life chances and prestige shall be considered as consequences of stratification, and not as causes, criteria, or dimensions thereof. But life chances may help to determine the class position of the next generation in an open or semiclosed class system.

A. Style of life

"Style of life" refers to the type of house; style and quality of clothing, food, and other necessities; amount of free, leisure time; amount of luxuries enjoyed, etc.

B. Life Chances

"Life chances" refer to the chances for sufficient supply of necessities of life, of medical care, of education and training necessary for holding inherited position or securing position of choice in open society.

C. Prestige

"Prestige" is the subjective evaluation of a position as perceived by individuals. There is a positive correlation between prestige and stratification (power)

ranking, but it is not a one to one correlation. Prestige ranking is apt to fluctuate more than stratification ranking, and does not necessarily change with changes in stratification ranking.

VIII. Stratification Consciousness

A. Caste Consciousness

Poses no problems since caste members are well aware of their caste position, their rights, duties, and obligations.

B. Estate Consciousness

Poses no problems at the upper estate levels. The consciousness of estate of the lower levels of peasants and urban workers needs further investigation.

C. Class Consciousness

Has been defined and discussed in Chapter II, under Marx.

IX. Dysfunctions of Stratification Systems

The true structural-functional model does not assume that the social system is in a state of homeostasis--it does not assume it to be a perfectly organized or smoothly

functioning system. Melvin M. Tumin lists eight dysfunctions of stratification systems, as follows:

A. They "limit the possibility of discovery of the full range of talent available in a society."

B. "In foreshortening the range of available talent," they "set limits upon the possibility of expanding the productive resources of the society, . . ."

C. They "provide the elite with the political power necessary to procure acceptance and dominance of an ideology which rationalizes the status quo, whatever it may be, . . ." thus acting as conservative influences within the society.

D. They tend "to distribute favorable self-images unequally throughout a population," thus limiting the development of the "creative potential inherent in men."

E. "To the extent that inequalities in social rewards cannot be made fully acceptable to the less privileged in a society, social stratification systems function to encourage hostility, suspicion and distrust among the various segments of a society and thus to limit the possibilities of extensive social integration."

F. They "function to distribute unequally the sense of significant membership in the population."

G. As a result of F., they "function to distribute loyalty unequally in the population."

H. As a result of F., they "function to distribute the motivation to participate unequally in a population."[53]

The above list is presented, not as the solution to the problem of accounting for dysfunctions within a stratification system, but as the starting point for a thorough investigation of this problem.

X. Conflict

A. Interpersonal conflict within the stratification system

1. Conflict may arise between individuals seeking to acquire the same position within the stratification structure.

2. Conflicts may arise between employers and employees.

3. Conflicts may arise between local labor unions

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[53]Tumin, op. cit., p. 393.

and local ownership or management.

B. Class conflicts

When conflict reaches the stage of a serious clash between two major class categories, for example, industrial labor versus major industrial ownership, it has become a class conflict (see Chapter II for a detailed discussion of Marx's views regarding class conflict).

XI. Stratification Change

A. Sources of change

1. From within

a. Evolution of the mode of production, from hunting and gathering economy, to the pasturing of animals and agriculture, to manufacture, to commerce and industry, and finally to a market economy, brings with it basic changes in the stratification structure. The Medieval Estate system in Europe was replaced with the class system with the rise of commerce and industry and the growth of the market economy. Today we see the gradual breakdown of the caste system in India as a result of a governmental policy to encourage the growth of the

market economy in the country. (See Millar and Marx.)

b. Inventions and discoveries in science, engineering, technology, etc., lead to changes in the mode of production and distribution, which have direct effects upon the structure of the stratification system.

c. Dysfunctions within the stratification system may lead to a change in its structure, through governmental policy, through deliberate effort by ownership and management to increase efficiency and production, or through struggle by the depressed classes to ameliorate their condition.

d. Class conflict may lead to a change in the stratification structure--Marx's hypothesis. According to Marx, the final class conflict (communist conflict) will lead to the abolition of stratification entirely.

2. From outside the system

a. Conquest may lead to the imposing of a stratification structure upon a society. For example, the origin of the Hindu caste system

is usually found in the conquest of the native tribesmen by the invading Aryans.

b. Cultural adaptations and innovations lead to changes in the mode of production, which lead to changes in the stratification structure. This is what is happening in India today as Western technology and methods of production and distribution are more and more being adopted by the country.

c. Selective migration of individuals. The in-migration of highly skilled scientists, technicians, professionals, etc., may result in: a reduction in the potential mobility into the positions they take over, by the members of the society; a change in the stratification structure resulting from the addition or expansion of the positions they are qualified to occupy. The in-migration of unskilled laborers has, during our own history, resulted in forcing those already holding the unskilled positions into a higher position within the stratification structure. The out-migration of these different

categories of individuals might have the opposite effect.

B. Types of Change

1. In the degree of mobility of individuals and groups permitted by the stratification system. In the beginnings of the caste system in India, there was a considerable amount of individual and group mobility, even among major caste groupings. But with the passing of time the caste positions tended to become hereditary, and the degree of mobility was greatly curtailed.

2. In the types of mobility. Again, in India, individual mobility, which was quite frequent in the beginning, was replaced by group mobility.

3. In the methods of recruiting individuals for the positions. In this country, experience, "hard work," and "luck" have more or less been replaced by specialized education and training as requirements for the higher "open" positions in the class structure: i.e., professional and administrative positions.

4. In the relative positions of the functional areas. In the caste system, the functional area

of religion may be replaced by the political area in the top position.

5. In the ranking system of positions. In the Soviet Union class system, the positions of skilled labor have been ranked higher with relation to other positions than is the case in capitalistic class systems.

6. Changes in the stratification system itself. A caste system may change into an estate or a class system; an estate system may change into a caste or a class system. A capitalistic class system may change into a socialistic class system, and vice versa.

XII. Conclusions

The above paradigm is offered as a tentative model for the construction of a unified theory of organization and stratification. This proposal differs from previous approaches to stratification theory, especially in that it combines the following requisites:

(1) A stratification theory based upon organization theory;

(2) Stratification involves positions, and not individuals;

(3) Stratification is not: prestige, style of life, "perceived" stratification position;

(4) Stratification is: an enduring system of power ranking, based upon the relation of positions to property and the market economy;

(5) Stratification is functional: and dysfunctional.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIETAL STRATIFICATION SYSTEMS: CASTE, ESTATE, CLASS

In the previous chapter we have defined stratification in terms of the distribution of power within society. We have said that the concept of stratification applies to all types of social collectives, at any level of organization. But, undoubtedly, the most interesting aspect of stratification for the social scientist,as well as the most significant from the standpoint of societal solidarity, is that of societal stratification.

In discussing societal stratification systems, writers, usually refer to three different types, caste, estate and class. Caste and estate are generally used in a descriptive sense, to refer to specific historical or contemporary societies. Caste is often reserved for one particular stratification system, that of Hindu India (Sorokin, Heberle), although some writers apply the term to a specific type of hereditary or ethnic system: the Jewish

people (Weber), the Negro-White system of relations in the Southern United States (Cooley; the Warner school), or to certain ancient and contemporary preindustrial or non-literate societies with hereditary strata, such as ancient Egypt and Persia, or modern Ceylon, Fiji, Tonga and Samoa. Estate usually refers to the systems found in Medieval Europe, although Spencer suggested that the concept should be used in referring to similar systems wherever found. And Weber develops estate as a theoretical model which may be applied to any society in which "estate-type positions" are found. Class, on the other hand, is sometimes used in a specific sense to refer to modern industrial, market-economy societies, but, equally often, it seems to me, class has a very general connotation, referring to any kind of stratification group, collective or system.

No science, however, can be constructed simply by accumulating a mass of unrelated descriptive studies of ongoing social systems, or of theorizing in terms of specific societies, although this is usually a necessary first step. It is only when we can abstract certain uniformities from the specific cases and classify these uniformities into a series or set of general types that science can develop and progress. It logically follows, therefore,

that we shall be moving in the right direction if we can develop caste, estate and class, concepts which have been discovered empirically through the study of specific societies, into three general theoretical types of stratification systems which can be applied to any and all societies for the purpose of classification and analysis. This is, I think, what Weber had in mind in his (unfinished) systematic and comprehensive stratification analysis (discussed in Chapter II). This is also what I shall attempt to do, from a somewhat different approach, in the following pages.

I. THEORETICAL MODELS OF SOCIETAL STRATIFICATION SYSTEMS

In developing theoretical models of societal stratification systems, I shall start with the generally accepted three-fold discrimination of stratification types: caste, estate and class. As guides for my models, I shall, like most theorists, take the Hindu caste system, the estate systems of Medieval Europe, and the modern class systems of market oriented societies. But rather than describing these systems, or looking for the causal or functional differences among them (such as source of and nature of

origin, or degree of mobility), I shall try to seek out the basic structural characteristics of each type, and the structural differences among the three types. I shall deviate somewhat from the classical theorists in my definition of caste and estate, but shall draw heavily upon the conceptualizations of Marx and Weber for my theory of class.

In presenting such a theory, it might be well to start out by stating precisely what I do not intend to do.

(1) The theoretical models are to represent systems of stratification of positions, not of individuals. The recruitment or mobility of individuals within the stratification system, therefore, has nothing to do with the structure of the system, but must be discussed as a function thereof.

(2) It follows from (1) that we shall not find the differences between the three stratification types in terms of degree of mobility, which has usually been the case in the past. In fact, to many theorists the three stratification systems have represented merely three types along a continuum of mobility as follows:

Caste	Estate	Class
0 ———	———	——— +
Closed system No mobility	Semiclosed system Some mobility	Open system Very mobile

Instead, each type of system will be developed in terms of its differences in basic structure, and then it will be possible to develop both open and closed types of mobility systems for each.

(3) It follows from the above that the determining criterion for stratification is not, in my conceptualization, the extent of inheritance of occupations or positions, but rather it is to be found in the differential allocation of power to the various positions within the society (whatever the causal source of this allocation may be), in terms of the relative location of the various functional areas to which the positions belong, within the power structure of the society.

(4) In addition to (3), the source and type of legitimization is an essential criterion in distinguishing between the three types of stratification systems. It has been, perhaps, the result of not including the criterion of legitimization in the structural-functional model that many

previous structural-functional approaches have failed to provide us with an adequate theoretical system (although many of the writers who are included in this criticism are certainly aware of the problem of legitimization, and give it adequate treatment outside of the model, itself). It is here suggested that the legitimization of the system is an essential aspect of the structure of social and stratification systems.

(5) It should be remembered that theoretical models do not represent any real, ongoing social systems. They should not, therefore, be directly descriptive of any concrete system, but rather actual social systems should be compared with them and discussed in terms of their conformity to and deviation from the model (or models) which best represents them.

(6) It is not my intention to present these three theoretical models as representative of all possible general types of societal stratification systems, nor even of constituting all the types which are needed for a general classification and discussion of all presently known stratified societies. Rather it is hoped that these types may serve as a starting point for the study of societal stratification systems from a common theoretical frame of

reference, and that additional types will be developed if and when needed.

(7) I do not consider stratification to be a universal phenomenon; that is, I do not consider every society to be stratified, as do many writers. Therefore, this as well as any other theory of stratification is inapplicable to a study of, for example, the Eskimo, the Australian aborigines, or the African Bushmen.

(8) These theoretical models are not presented as the final answer to the problem of stratification theory and research. It is recognized that they are necessarily tentative models--subject to modification and revision as research progresses. Many of the statements which follow are based upon sound stratification theory and tested propositions; many are merely hypotheses which must be submitted to empirical test at a later occasion.

The theoretical models of caste, estate and class follow.

1. Caste

Definition: A caste system is a societal stratification system in which power is allocated among positions in terms of a "vertical" ranking of the functional areas to

which they belong. Each functional area forms a separate "horizontal" caste, and these castes are ranked according to their functional importance to the society, as evaluated by the society. Or the rank order of functional areas may be the result of a successful struggle for power by certain collectives within the society, or of conquest by another society which imposes the system of ranking upon the society. In either case, the system, if it is to become stable and durable, must seek validation through appealing to existing societal values, or through the establishment of a new set of values which will support it.

The main castes may, in turn, be composed of separate subcastes, each of which is allocated a special occupation or a set of related occupations. These occupations are all a part of the functional area to which the main caste belongs, and together they form a functional unity to carry out all the roles pertaining to that area (or caste) required by the society.

Figure 7 shows a general theoretical model for a caste system, in which the functional areas or castes form horizontal bars, each composed of a number of subcastes representing various occupations. It is apparent that in many, if not all societies, we will not find all of the

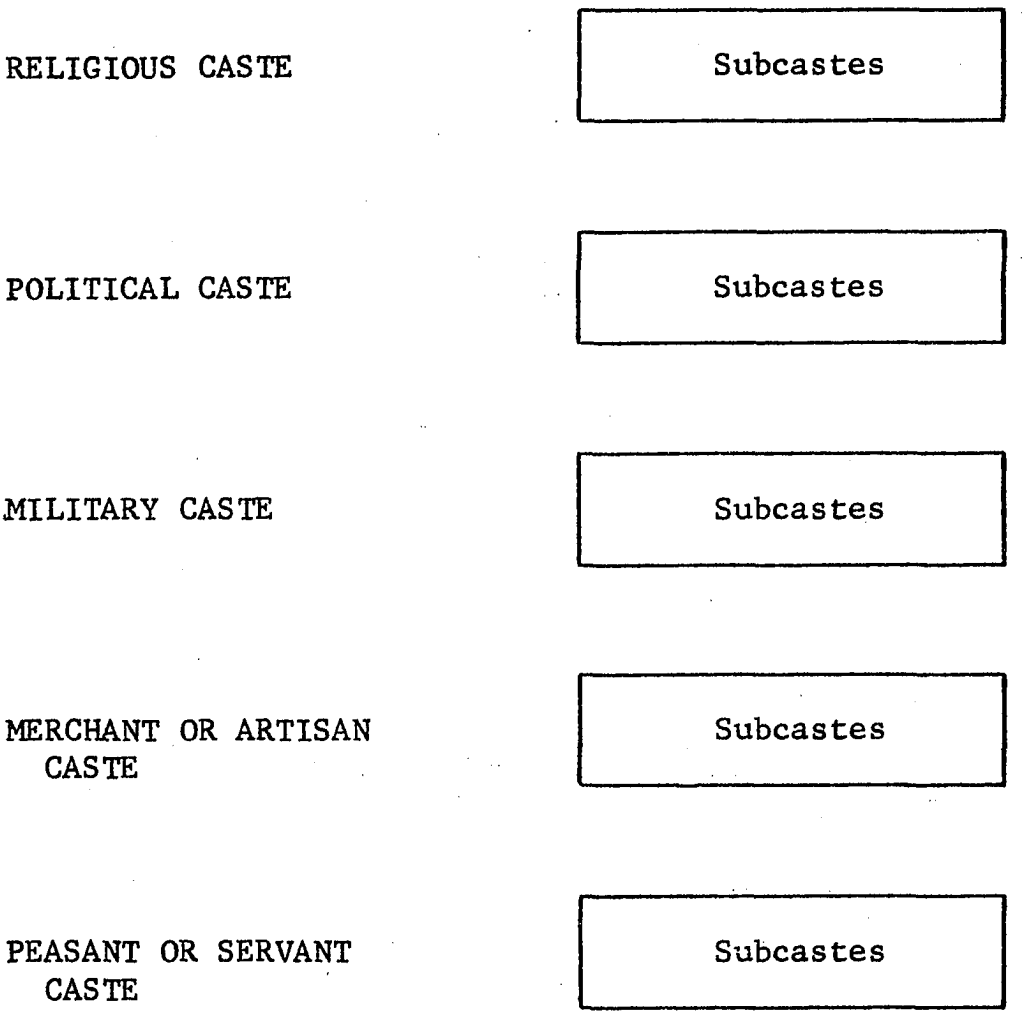

Figure 7. Theoretical model of Caste system structure

functional areas illustrated separated out as distinct castes within the society. On the other hand, we might find an additional differentiation of castes, such as a caste of serfs and a caste of slaves, with their separate and distinct functions. In not all caste societies will the religious caste be at the top of the hierarchy, but the political caste might be in the top position, or the military. It is doubtful that we would find the economic caste (or castes) in top position in the hierarchy, because in a society in which the economic function is considered most important to the society, we would be more apt to find a class system.[1]

The caste system is based upon a religious- or philosophical-legal system which serves as the legitimization for the power hierarchy of the functional areas, as well as the observed inequalities among the various caste members, and not only supports the system functionally but helps to maintain it over the generations. It is evident

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[1]Heberle notes that this is a most important point. The physiocrats and Saint-Simonists and their contemporaries in England were the ones to claim that only the farmers and "industrialists" were useful socially: the nobility, the clergy were "parasites." It is at this time that we see the notion of "classes" emerge.

that in a social system in which power is allocated in terms of type of function, so that some functions, which may not be apparently economically essential to survival, are given greater power than others, which may be, in appearance, more essential to personal survival, there must be a strong system of generally recognized sanctions, such as those of a magico-religious nature, to support the system and maintain its stability. It would also seem likely that, as a result of this, the religious functions, performed either by a priestly or a ruling caste, would be ranked at the top of the power structure. This is exactly in agreement with the position of Arthur M. Hocart, who goes even further by defining the caste system as a "sacrificial organization," in which "the aristocracy are feudal lords constantly involved in rites for which they require vassals or serfs, because some of these services involve pollution from which the lord must remain free."[2] I believe there is much truth in Hocart's statement, but

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[2]A. M. Hocart, Caste; A Comparative Study (London: Methuen & Co.: 1950), p. 17. Hocart was a student of psychology, sociology and anthropology, who conducted anthropological researches in Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, and elsewhere, was onetime Archaeological Commissioner in Ceylon, and Professor of Sociology at the University of Cairo.

my criticism is that Hocart obscures the fact that a caste system is a functionally differentiated system of division of labor which operates as a way of life for all the members of a society.

The above points are best illustrated by the classical example of Hindu India, which finds its religious sanctions codified in its many sacred writings. The Hymn of the Rig-Veda, "To Purusha" (c. 1500 B.C.), sings of the greatness of the supreme spirit, and records the creation of the four main castes: "The Brahman was his mouth, of both his arms was the Rajanya (Kshatriya) made. His thighs became the Vaisya, from his feet the Sudra was produced." According to the hymn, creation, itself, was a sacrifice.[3]

The duties of the various castes are carefully spelled out in many of the Hindu hymns. In the Vishnu Purana (composed sometime during the first ten centuries A. D.), the duties are described as follows:

> The duties of the Brahmanas consist in making gifts, worshipping the celestials with sacrifices, studying the Vedas, performing oblations and libations with water and preserving the sacred fire. For maintenance, he may offer sacrifices

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[3]Ballou (ed.), The Bible of the World, p. 21.

> for others, teach others and may accept liberal presents in a becoming manner. He must advance the well-being of all and do injury to none. . . .
>
> The duties of the Kshatriya consist in making gifts to the Brahmanas at pleasure, in worshipping Vishnu with various sacrifices and receiving instructions from the preceptor. His principal sources of maintenance are arms and protection of the earth. But his greatest duty consists in guarding the earth. By protecting the earth a king attains his objects, for he gets a share of the merit of all sacrifices. . . .
>
> . . . Brahma has assigned to the Vaisyas, for their maintenance, the feeding of the cattle, commerce, and agriculture. Study, sacrifice, and gift are also within the duties of the Vaisyas: besides these, they may also observe the other fixed and occasional rites.
>
> The Sudra must maintain himself by attending upon the three castes, or by the profits of trade, or the earnings of mechanical labour. He may also make gifts, offer the sacrifices in which food is presented, and he may also make obsequial offerings.

Contrary to the popular assumption that the occupational restrictions of the various castes are inviolable, the Purana continues:

> In cases of emergency a Brahmana may follow the occupations of a Kshatriya or Vaisya: the Kshatriya may adopt those of Vaisya and the Vaisya those of Kshatriya: but the last two should never adopt the functions of the Sudra if they can avoid them. . . .[4]

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[4] Ibid., pp. 103-104.

Possibly the most frequently mentioned characteristic of the Hindu caste system is that of "ritual purity" of the upper castes, protected by food, personal contact, and other taboos, and by purification rites. According to Hutton, "The 'twice-born' (dvija) classes (Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya) are so-called on account of the initiation ceremony (upanayana) at which they are ceremonially reborn and assume the sacred thread, a ceremony not permitted to Sudras." Hutton adds that "it is probable that in vedic times the lines between these classes were not impassable," although he considers that the main castes have been relatively closed in recent times (except for the caste mobility resulting from the transmigration of souls).[5] There are very rigorous taboos regulating the acceptance of food and water by members of the upper castes from those of lower castes, to the extent that Hutton writes: "It is often stated that the test of a

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[5]J. H. Hutton, Caste in India; Its Nature, Function, and Origins (Second edition; London: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 64. Hutton is Professor Emeritus of Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge, and former Census Commissioner for India in 1931. Kingsley Davis comments on the fact that Hutton's book "contains surprisingly little quantitative information, despite its very complete sociological treatment."--The Population of India and Pakistan (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 162.

'clean caste,' that is to say, a caste of respectable and non-polluting status, lies in whether or not a Brahman can accept drinking water at its hands." But Hutton adds that there is great variation throughout India, such that in the northern part of the country there are many Sudra castes from which the members of higher castes can accept water. According to Hutton, a Brahman will be defiled by mere physical contact with a member of a low caste, the traditional occupation of which (whether actually followed or not) places him "outside the pale of Hindu society." Such castes are frequently spoken of as "outcastes" or "untouchables," and include the Chamars (workers in cowhide), the Dhōbis (who wash dirty, particularly menstruously defiled, clothes), and the Doms (who remove corpses). The Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, Hutton says, are less easily defiled, but the principle of untouchability operates in much the same manner.[6]

I disagree with Hocart that ritual purity (essential for performance of religious rites) on the part of upper caste members is the causal factor of caste stratification. I also disagree with Max Weber who considers the purity of

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[6]Ibid., pp. 71, 78.

caste members to be the essential criterion differentiating the caste system from the estate system. I consider ritual purity and purification rites as a natural and functionally relevant resultant of a well-crystallized caste system, just as a well-defined prestige structure may result from a highly developed class system and may function to help maintain that system. This position is essential to my theory of caste, inasmuch as the present trend toward the break-down of the elaborate systems of ritual purity in India today should lead to a break-down of the caste system itself, were we to accept the proposition of Hocart or Weber. But since I define caste in terms of the structural allocation of power among positions and functions, I would say that the complete abolition of ritual purity would not necessarily effect any change in the caste system, itself --such changes as do occur within the caste system will result from the redefining of positions and functions within the power structure of the Indian society as a result of industrialization, urbanization, and the growth of a market-oriented economy--all of which developments are in process today.

Hutton does concede that "As a result of the increase of travelling in public vehicles on the railway or bus routes,

pollution of this kind has become so common and its frequent removal so inconvenient that it is no longer treated very seriously by the majority of high-caste Hindus."[7] But I am surprised that Hutton, in his revised edition (Preface dated 22 November 1950) does not even mention the action of the Indian Constituent Assembly, which on November 29, 1948 "adopted with acclamation an article in the Constitution making illegal any kind of disability for untouchables. The article states: 'Untouchability is abolished and its practise in any form is forbidden. Enforcement of any disability arising out of 'untouchability' shall be an offense punishable in accordance with law.'"[8] Of course, I recognize the fact that a very careful distinction must be made between social change and legislative change (as we have observed here in the South), and I have talked with many upper caste Hindu students in the United States, who tell me that they are not concerned with the problem of pollution, but that their parents just cannot change their long-established feelings concerning this matter.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Davis, The Population of India and Pakistan, p. 173.

Although most foreign observers are immediately struck with the inequalities of the Hindu caste system, and stress the obvious aspects of it, such as that of ritual purity, most contemporary Indian writers, and the many Indian students whom I have known place primary focus on the fact that the caste system is, by origin and purpose, a functional occupational system, and operates for that purpose and that alone.[9] In an Indian village (which is the basic territorial (and political) unit of Indian society--the basic unit even of social life), interpersonal relations and distinctions are based upon subcastes rather than main castes--each village having a subcaste for every occupation necessary to the functional operation of village life.

In 1901, the last year in which the census authorities attempted a complete tabulation of all castes, there were found to be 2,378 "main" castes and tribes (presumably

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[9]Kingsley Davis writes that, according to a census analysis in 1931, "in general more than half the male workers are engaged in a line of work historically associated with their caste, and . . . in many castes more than 70 per cent are so engaged. Without a doubt the traditional caste occupation therefore still means something."--The Population of India and Pakistan, p. 168.

this includes the Muslims as well as other religious groups). This figure does not include the subcastes, which undoubtedly number many thousands. In 1931 in a tiny state with a population of only 350,000, the census authorities found 387 subcastes of Brahmans and 1,025 subcastes of Rajputs.[10] It appears then that the usual four-caste description of Hindu society does not accurately portray that immense and complicated social structure. Davis writes that "the term Brahman designates a very loose class of castes, not a caste in itself" (italics mine).[11] This is in accord with Hutton, who considers the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra as the four original "classes" or "categories" (varna: "colour") into which Rigvedic society was divided, and distinguishes them from the thousands of "castes" into which historical and contemporary India is divided.[12] Nevertheless it is still true that the four "classes" of castes do have their significant place in Hindu society today: they still appear in the literature, and they still are recognized and identified by young Hindus--those whom I have known have identified themselves

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[10] Ibid., p. 166. [11] Ibid.

[12] Hutton, op. cit., p. 64.

to me by their main caste or subcaste title, and also by the title of Brahman or Kshatriya. Hocart, who studied the caste system, first-hand, writes: "We can . . . confidently accept the ancient classification of (four) castes as based on actual practice. We see it not only in the ritual, but in the planning of the city. The four groups are placed at different points of the compass within the square or circular city: royal to the east, mercantile to the south, servile to the west, priestly to the north. Heretics and outcastes live outside the city near the cremation ground, the place of corruption."[13]

There is also much confusion as to the relative positions of the top two major castes in the power structure of Hindu society. Although both religious sanction and convention place the Brahmans in the top position, Hocart places the Kshatriya caste in first rank since this is the caste which provides the king, the nobility and the warriors. The Brahmans are listed as the second caste by Hocart, since they perform the ritual for the king or for any great man who is offering the sacrifice.[14] Hocart based his theory

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[13]Hocart, op. cit., p. 27.

[14]Ibid., pp. 34-39.

of the Hindu system in India upon one fact and one premise. The fact was, that in his study of the caste system of the Sinhalese in Ceylon, he discovered that the "Kings" (Kshatriyas) were commonly ranked above the "Wise-men" (Brahmans). His assumption was that the caste system of the Sinhalese reflects the stratification system in early India more clearly than does the contemporary system in India, itself. But, according to Bryce Ryan, in a recent work on the changing caste system in Ceylon, "Neither Hocart's observations nor his conclusions are . . . supported by the present research."[15] It is nevertheless true that the kings and princes have had a varying degree of power in India, and their position with relation to the Brahmans has also varied over the centuries. According to Ryan:

> No one should suppose that the Brahminical theory of caste, which is still frequently reproduced in texts as the actuality of caste, ever comprehended India. However, with the rise of Brahminical power and the subordination of the contending Royalty, the theoretical structure did in fact become an ideal pattern to which Indian organization tended to conform

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[15]Bryce Ryan, Caste in Modern Ceylon; The Sinhalese System in Transition (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), pp. 6-7.

> in varying degrees for different regional and tribal areas. . . (italics mine).[16]

It seems to me that most studies of India tend to describe the prestige structure, as well as the ideal type of caste system as it exists in the religious literature and in the minds of many people. For this reason, it appears to me, the study of the Hindu caste system should be in terms of the actual and functional distribution of power within the various castes, and among and between the castes.

There is a considerable amount of ambiguity regarding the relative power positions of the top two castes in India. The Brahman caste includes, along with the priests and teachers: cooks, servers of food, and water boys at the railway stations (from whom any member of any caste can accept water without danger of pollution); these individuals (or subcastes) certainly do not enjoy the power privileges of the Kshatriya king and nobles and warriors. In modern India, both Brahmans and Kshatriyas are found in large numbers in business, in industry, in the government, and in the professions.

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[16] Ibid., p. 9.

Bryce Ryan writes: "There is a common fallacy that castes must stand in a specific hierarchy with each one in a recognized superior or inferior relationship to the other. Such specificity in status is not present either in India proper or in Ceylon. Castes always have different statuses but not necessarily fixed superior and inferior positions relative to every other one, in spite of the fact that the system as a whole involves gradation in rank, esteem and privilege."[17]

I suggest, therefore, that the theoretical model of caste (Figure 7) needs to be revised when one attempts to present a descriptive model of the Hindu stratification system. Figure 8 is given as a tentative model for further and more careful research. This figure is intended to suggest (rather imperfectly) that there are certain positions allocated to members of the Brahman caste which are higher than, equal to, and lower than certain positions reserved for members of the Kshatriya or the Vaishya caste, within the total power structure of the society. But this overlapping of power-related positions does not hold as true for the Vaishya as for the two top castes, and

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[17] Ibid., pp. 85-86.

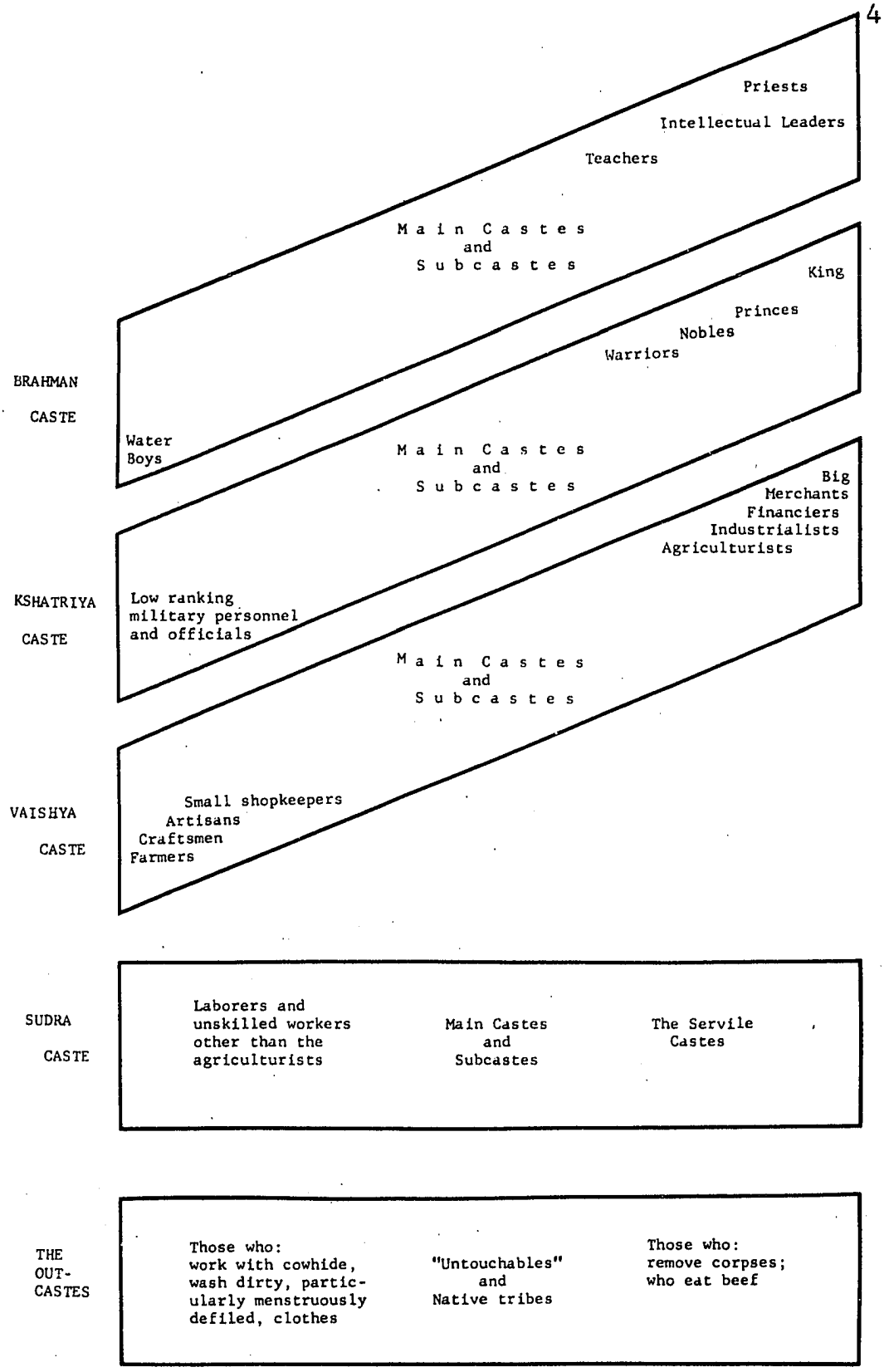

Figure 8. Tentative model of Caste system Power Structure in Hindu India.

probably not at all for the Sudra or the "outcastes." It is further suggested that this model would need to be revised for different periods in the history of Hindu caste society, and also, possibly, for different regions of the country.

This model (Figure 8) suggests that the Hindu system might have shifted over into an estate system, with a hierarchy of positions within each major caste, had not the strong religious sanctions maintained the image and the functional organization of a four-fold caste hierarchy. And now, with the economic development of the country, it is highly likely that the caste system will eventually be replaced with a modern class system.

The above illustrates quite dramatically that the theoretical model of the caste system (as represented in Figure 7) is intended as a general model for the study of any caste system, but that, in application, a modification of the model (and the diagram) would be necessary to represent the unique aspects of each social system studied.

There are two polar type variations of the caste system, in terms of mobility: open and closed. We should expect to find most caste societies falling somewhere in between these polar types.

a. Closed caste. The closed caste system is that which is usually meant by the term caste. In fact, many will undoubtedly castigate this author for having the audacity of even suggesting such a concept as open caste.

A standard definition for caste is, "an endogamous and hereditary social group limited to persons in a given occupation or trade, having mores distinguishing it from other such groups."[18] The polar type of closed caste is one in which the recruitment of individuals is in terms of heredity, the castes are endogamous, and there is no vertical mobility of individuals or groups from one caste to another. In a completely closed caste system, sub-castes are also endogamous, and permit no horizontal mobility between them. As we can see, the Hindu system does not fit this polar closed type at all.

Closed castes are kinship associations, perhaps clans or tribes, or possibly more loosely organized (see definition in Chapter III). It is suggested that the closed caste system, if such a society can actually be found, would be extremely stable over a long period of time,

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[18]The American College Dictionary (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953).

provided the religious and legal rationalization for the observed inequalities among the caste members continued to operate effectively.

b. Open caste. The open caste system is one in which the recruitment of individuals is in terms of innate personal characteristics and aptitudes and achieved knowledge and skills. There is accordingly a considerable amount of vertical mobility, both up and down, from one caste to another, as well as horizontal mobility between subcastes.

As already indicated, this concept of open caste is a bold break with tradition. Let us look at the origin of the term. The term caste derives from the Spanish and Portuguese term, casta, which means breed, race or kind. The first use of the term in the restricted sense now understood by caste dates from 1563 when Garcia de Orta wrote that "no one changes from his father's trade and all those of the same caste (casta) of shoemakers are the same."[19] Thus, through tradition, caste has come to mean an endogamous group of persons sharing the same occupation.

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[19]Hutton, op. cit., p. 47.

But if we trace the derivation of the term, we find that caste was taken from the Latin, castus, which means pure, spotless, chaste, Now if we think of stratification in terms of persons, then the system cannot be pure unless the castes are endogamous with hereditary positions and no chance for mobility. But if we think of stratification as relating to positions rather than persons, caste may be conceived as a pure functional system of positions in which the positions are stratified in terms of the functional areas to which they belong, such that each area falls into a hierarchical position, one above the other, and caste defines position just as position defines caste. Thus an open system of caste is logically conceivable, semantically, since the recruitment and mobility of the individuals within the system does not defile the purity of the functioning system, itself. Each person, once he has moved up or down from one caste to another adopts the roles, manners, customs, and dress, and the prestige of his new caste, and (theoretically) throws off all remnants of the old.

It is suggested that the open caste system tends to be unstable over time because, in spite of what has just been said, persons moving up and down within the hierarchy of castes are not able completely to throw away all

remnants of their old caste position. Nor are other persons capable, always and completely, of accepting the new relationships resulting from mobility in such a system of structured inequalities. But most importantly, those who are able or fortunate enough to secure a position in the top ranks of the power hierarchy are quite likely to try to pass that position on to their heirs, by making the position hereditary, and this is exactly what happened in India and other caste societies a long time ago.

Open castes are communities, as we have defined the terms in the last chapter, although the lower castes may be mere collectivities.

I would call open castes the incipient type of caste system. They may develop into semiclosed, semiopen, or closed castes; otherwise they are apt to shift over on their axes and become estates, that is to say, they may develop a hierarchy of power-related positions within each category. In other words, I doubt that any society can keep its functionally defined, occupational categories (castes) pure over a long period of time, unless it stabilize them by making, at least the upper power categories, hereditary.

In between the polar types of open and closed caste systems, we should expect to find all types of degrees of

openness or closedness, and here is where we should expect to find most ongoing caste systems. For purposes of convenience, only, we shall consider these variations under two categories: semiclosed and semiopen.

c. Semiclosed caste. A semiclosed caste system is one in which most of the positions within the society recruit their holders on the basis of some method of selection and election, but in which some, or a few positions are hereditary--undoubtedly, those at or near the top of the power hierarchy.

I would tentatively consider the Aztecs, at the time of their conquest by the Spaniards in 1518, as having a semiclosed caste system. At that time, according to Hoebel, Aztec society "consisted of royalty, nobility, common freemen, propertyless proletariat, and slaves," ranked in terms of power in that order. All of these castes were open, except that of royalty: the king was selected by the council of lords from among the royal lineage. But the nobility were nonhereditary and were recruited from all clans. The common freemen were formed into twenty localized clans. They inherited their general caste position, but were eligible for appointment into the nobility, or

they could be thrown into the "proletariat" for failing to fulfill clan obligations. The "proletariat" consisted of aliens whose property had been expropriated by the state and Aztecs who had lost their clan privileges. They inherited their position, but could be sold (or sell themselves) into slavery (Hoebel does not say whether they could rise into the higher caste). Slaves were taken in battle, Aztecs were thrown or sold into slavery--they could not rise out of this position, but their children were born free (into the "proletariat"). By 1518 the Aztec caste system was evolving into "a feudal aristocracy," according to Hoebel. Many of the nobility were succeeding in passing their titles and their positions on to their heirs.[20] Whether the Aztec system would have developed into a semiopen caste system, or an estate system (as I am defining these terms), had not their social system been destroyed by the Spaniards, is mere speculation.

Using the Aztec system as a model, semiclosed castes are kinship associations at the higher levels, kinship associations or communities at the middle levels, and mere

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[20]From: G. C. Vaillant, Aztecs of Mexico. See: Hoebel, op. cit., pp. 418-19.

collectivities at the bottom levels.

As Hocart describes Fijian society, it is what I would tentatively call a semiclosed caste system, with a tendency toward crystallization into three castes: a partially hereditary nobility, "the Land" (non-noble clans), and the serfs. Hocart points out that this society may evolve into what he calls a "closed" caste system resembling that in India, or it may very well develop into something quite different.[21]

d. Semiopen caste. A semiopen caste system is one in which the castes are more or less closed and endogamous, but in which some mobility is possible. Here I would include the Hindu system. Group mobility is possible in India through an entire subcaste changing its occupation, discontinuing such defiling practices as killing cattle or eating beef, tanning hides, etc., and assuming the occupation and customs which fit it for a higher position within the total caste system. The history of India has been a history of constant caste flux, as Hutton points out, with some castes breaking up into subcastes, each assuming different occupations, or subcastes getting together and

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[21]Hocart, op. cit., pp. 74-83.

forming a new caste (or subcaste) group, all of which would result in vertical or horizontal mobility on the part of the caste members. Even mobility between the four main "classes" of castes has always been possible. According to Nehru, "The Kshatriyas were frequently adding to their numbers both from foreign incoming elements and others in the country who rose to power and authority." And Nehru adds: "There was always a continuous process of new castes being formed, as new occupations developed and for other reasons, and older castes were always trying to go up in the social scale." Furthermore, Nehru acclaims, "These processes have continued to our day. Some of the lower castes suddenly take to wearing the sacred thread which is supposed to be reserved for the upper castes. All this really made little difference, as each caste continued to function in its own ambit and pursued its own trade or occupation. It was merely a question of prestige" (italics mine). This, I think, supports my earlier contention that the fundamental aspect of the caste system is the functional differentiation and stratification of occupational collectives, and goes even further than I did by suggesting that all caste differentiations, outside of occupational differentiations, are "merely a question of

prestige." Nehru concludes: "Occasionally men of the lower classes, by sheer ability, attained to positions of power and authority in the state, but this was very exceptional."[22] Even Hutton concedes: "The barrier between (the four) classes (of castes) is still perhaps not entirely impassable. . . ."[23]

There are other forms of individual mobility in India. Through marriage with a man of a higher subcaste position, a girl may give the higher subcaste rank to her children. Although both Hutton and Nehru claim that intermarriage between the four main "classes" is prohibited, and is very rare in practice, I have known one such case, of a Kshatriya girl married to a Brahman, and their daughter was Brahman, and my Indian friends have told me that it does occur rather frequently. This is undoubtedly true, today, since so many of the former caste barriers are breaking down in the new Indian democracy.

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[22]Jawaharlal Nehru, The Discovery of India (New York: The John Day Company, 1946), p. 250.

[23]Hutton, op. cit., p. 65.

2. Estate

Definition: An estate stratification system is one in which power is allocated among positions in terms of a vertical ranking of the positions within each functional area, according to the functional importance of the position to the area, as evaluated by the society. Functional areas are considered to be complementary to each other, and from a functional point of view none is considered to be more important to the society as a whole than any of the others (although the prestige of one might well be higher than of the others).

The estate theoretical model is illustrated in Figure 9. It may be noted that the primary structural difference between the caste and estate systems is that in the former the functional areas are represented by horizontal bars arranged in a vertical order of power hierarchy, whereas in the estate system the functional areas have been turned on end and are represented by vertical bars, with power hierarchies within each area. This means that, whereas in the theoretical model of the caste system all the positions within a particular functional area, religious, political, etc., possess the same relative degree

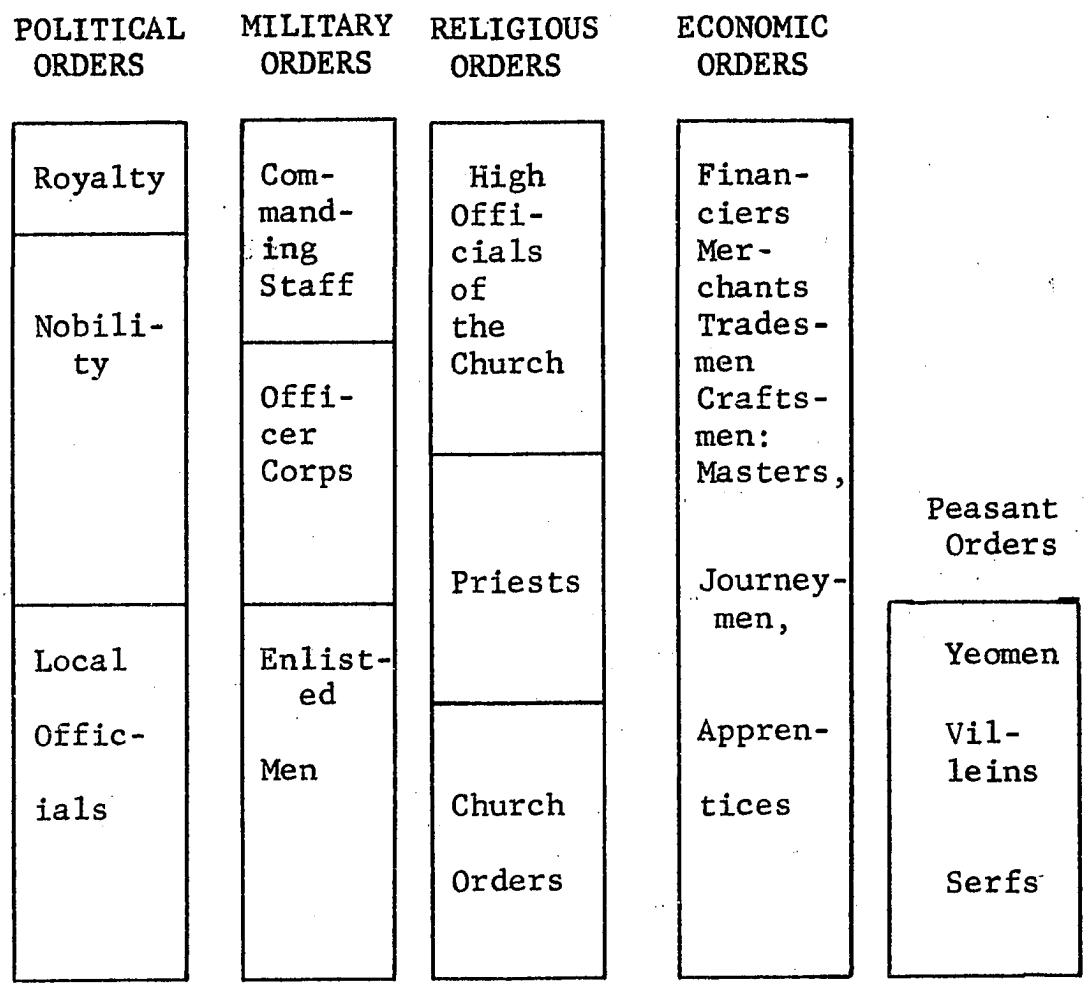

Figure 9. Theoretical model of Estate system structure

of power within the stratification structure as do all other positions in that same area, in the estate system each estate contains within itself a complete hierarchy of power-associated positions.

An additional and essential criterion of the estate system is the existence of a religious and legal legitimization of the system, which maintains the validity of a dualism of sacred and secular powers. It is perhaps this notion of dualism of powers which leads to the formation of one hierarchy of power within the church and a corresponding hierarchy within the secular orders.

Castes and estates are similar in the following respects:

(1) They are both found in preindustrial and pre-market-economy societies; that is, in agricultural, handicraft, commercial societies.

(2) They both find their support and their stability in strong religious and legal systems of sanctions.

(3) Both types of systems tend to become endogamous, and to move in the direction of limiting upward and downward mobility between stratification categories at different levels.

(4) They are both more than mere occupational or

economic categories, in that they tend to constitute a very "way of life" for all the people within the social system.

(5) The visible differences between the members of the upper and the lower castes, or estates, are extreme: in style of life, manners and habits, life chances, and in degree of prestige rating.

(6) Of the three stratification types, caste and estate are more similar to each other, and both are sharply differentiated from class.

Castes and estates differ in the following respects:

(1) Castes are more "pure" in their hierarchical structuring of functional areas in terms of the distribution of power, whereas estates divide each major functional area into a complete hierarchical ordering of power-related positions.

(2) Castes are more "pure" in terms of occupational specialization and restrictions than are estates. For example, members of the religious orders may perform political and economic functions; members of the political orders may perform economic functions: nobleman who is owner or vassal of a manorial estate; peasants may perform agricultural, craft and personal service functions.

(3) Stable castes necessarily have a stronger magico-religious system of sanctions than do estates, which are based upon a more ethical (humanistic) philosophical-religious-legal system.

(4) Castes are more likely to set up stronger prohibitions against social contact between upper and lower castes, such as that of ritual purity and untouchability, than are estates, which do, nevertheless have definite proscriptions against certain kinds of interaction among members of the various estate categories.

Examination of Figure 9 discloses that no actual social system should be expected to have a stratification structure in which each of the functional areas shown will constitute a separate set of estates. Some societies will combine the political and military and agrarian economic functions (e.g., Medieval Europe), while others may combine the political and religious and economic (e.g., Classical China).

As with the caste model, we can distinguish two polar type variations of the estate system, in terms of mobility: open estate and closed estate. Here again, we should expect to find most ongoing estate systems falling somewhere in between the two polar types; we may establish

our models as semiclosed and semiopen estates. The criteria for these different types of mobility systems are the same as for caste, and need not be repeated here. Closed estates are kinship associations; open estates are communities at the higher levels, and mere collectivities at the lower levels.

The example of estate systems which is usually cited is that of Medieval Europe, but here there is great danger of overgeneralizing. There never was one, uniform estate system throughout Europe, but rather there were estate systems, which differed from country to country and from region to region. In addition, these estate systems also differed over a period of time. In order, therefore, to describe an ongoing estate system, we would have to examine Germany in 1200 A.D., or France in 1350 A.D., etc. Simply for the purpose of illustrating the theoretical model of estate, which is presented here, and as a brief, tentative application of the theory, I have selected the "Ancien Regime" in France, as analyzed recently in a little book by F. C. Green.

Green points out that "The traditional political division of French society into the three orders, le clergé, la noblesse and le tiers état, persisted until the

Revolution of 1789. However, since growth and change are inherent in the human social organism, this division had long ceased to reflect--if indeed, it ever had done--the true structure of society" (italics mine). According to Green, "the town and village curés who formed the majority of the clergé, really belonged socially to the tiers état. On the other hand, the princes of the Church, le haut clergé, ranked with the hereditary nobility or noblesse d'épée." Green points out that the consolidation of the absolute monarchy resulted in the creation of a "new social order," composed of senior royal officials, most of whom were drawn from the legal profession and owned charges (offices carrying nobility). These royal officials were known collectively as la noblesse parlementaire (or la noblesse de robe). In addition, the wealthy bourgeoisie were separated by "many social degrees" from the "humblest members of the peuple."[24]

It should be pointed out that, after about 1000 A.D., the practice of celibacy was quite thoroughly established within the Church, and it was therefore necessary to

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[24]F. C. Green, The Ancien Regime; A Manual of French Institutions and Social Classes (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1958), p. 59. Green is Professor of French Literature at the University of Edinburgh.

recruit all members of the Church hierarchy from the other estates. The high officials of the Church were recruited, for the most part, from the secular nobility, whereas most of the parish priests and the monks and nuns came from "the people."

Green's description of the stratification system of The Ancien Regime give us a good opportunity to test our model. Abstracting from his description of the three estates, I have drawn up the diagram (Figure 10), which includes only a representative sample of the various positions within French society during the 17th-18th centuries, as Green reports them.[25] I have tried to show the approximate position of each estate category within the French power structure, in relation to the other categories. This diagram, it seems to me, presents a much more accurate picture of The Ancien Regime than does a simple description of "clerical estate, secular estate, and peasantry."

Other estate societies may be analyzed in the same way. The stratification structure of Classical Chinese

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[25] Ibid., pp. 59-74.

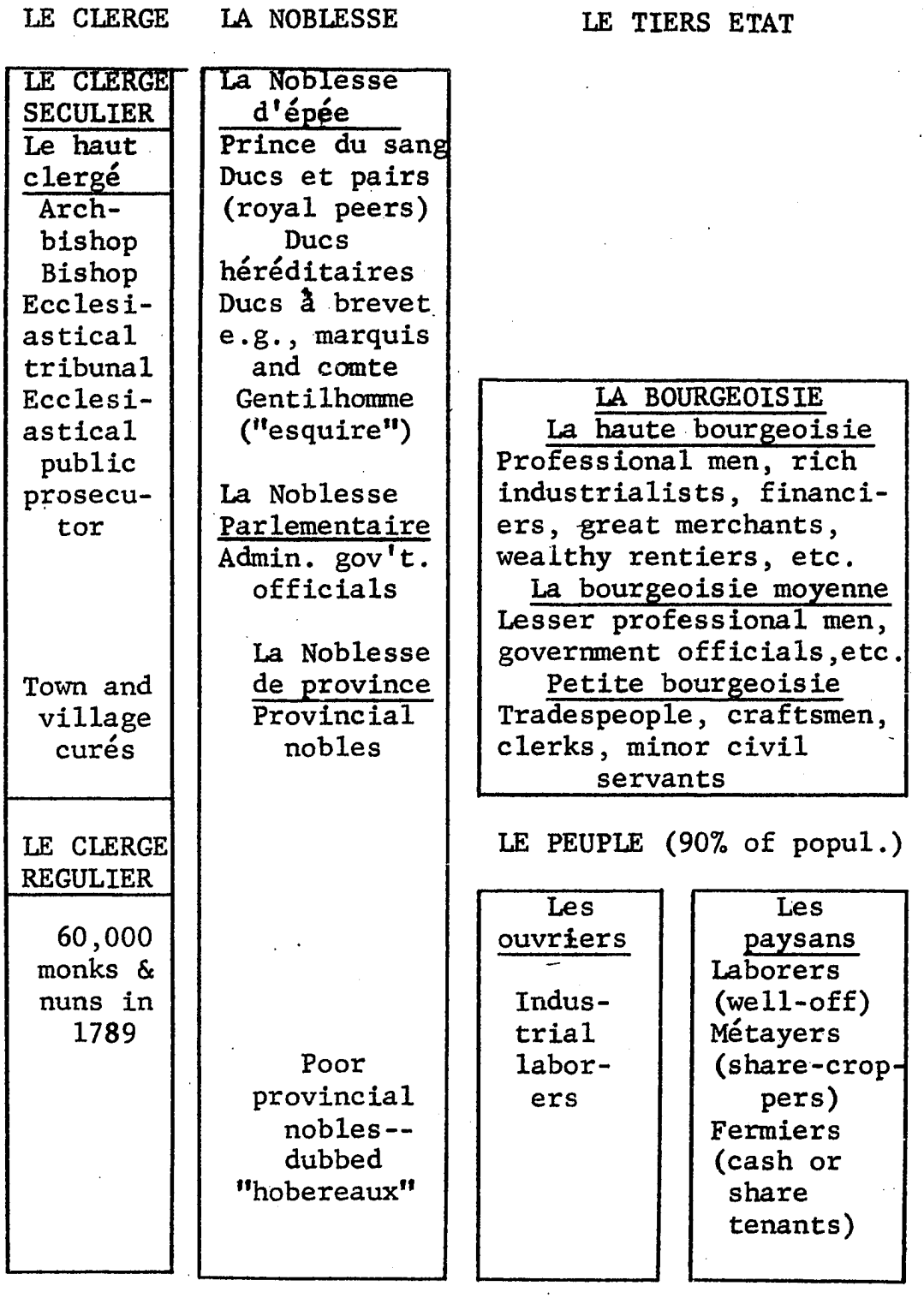

Figure 10. Estate system Power structure in The Ancien Regime, 17th-18th Cent. France (abstracted from F. C. Green, The Ancien Regime).

society offers a unique variation of estate organization, and an analysis of this society according to our model would provide an interesting comparison with the Medieval European system. The Baganda (in Uganda Protectorate, British East Africa) offer an excellent subject for a study of an estate system in a nonliterate, preindustrial society.[26]

3. Class

A Class system is the type of stratification system which we might expect to find in a commercial, industrial, market-oriented society, in which the greatest evaluation is placed upon the economic sphere of activity. Classes are therefore essentially economic classes. In such a society, the political functional area is merged with the economic, and operates chiefly for the maintenance and preservation of the latter. The military area in such a society would be merged with the political, and the religious area would find its power only in terms of its

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[26]See: John Roscoe, The Baganda (London: Macmillan & Co., 1911). See also: Howard Becker (ed.), Societies Around the World; A New Shorter Edition (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1956), pp. 254-359.

relationship to the politico-economic class system.

A class system may also be found in a preindustrial or nonliterate society, in which economic activity (especially, the exchange of goods) is evaluated as most important functionally to the society. Here, however, we would find the class system on a more "primitive" (i.e., simpler) level.

Definition: A class stratification system is one in which power is allocated among positions in terms of their functional importance to the economic system, or the politico-economic system, as defined by their relationship to property and to the control over the market relations within the society (see Chapter II re: Marx and Weber). Power is therefore, in this type of society, essentially a matter of control over the economy of the society.

The class system does not have the strong religious-legal sanctions found in caste and estate societies. But the class structure does find indirect support in legal, religious or philosophical institutions, which serve to preserve the class positions. And classes have their real basis in economic necessity--that is, in maintaining the positions essential to economic functions.

Classes are, as Weber pointed out, mere categories

or collectivities, but they may form the basis for community action.

There are three types of Classes: Incipient Classes, Capitalistic Classes, and Socialistic Classes.

a. Incipient Classes. Incipient Classes are so named because they are the primitive form of classes, and are inherently unstable because of the gross inequalities among the positions and the lack of a religious or philosophical or legal justification to maintain the system.

Definition: An Incipient Class system is one in which power is allocated among positions in terms of the ownership or lack of ownership of property and of the means of production. The simplest model is one in which there are two main classes or groups of classes; those positions which give their occupants the ownership and control of the means of production are in the top, or controlling class or classes, and the remaining positions in the society fall in the lower level class or classes (see Figure 11). An incipient class system may be part of a complex stratification system, for example, in England, Russia and France during the rise of the market-oriented economy.

This stratification system is inherently unstable,

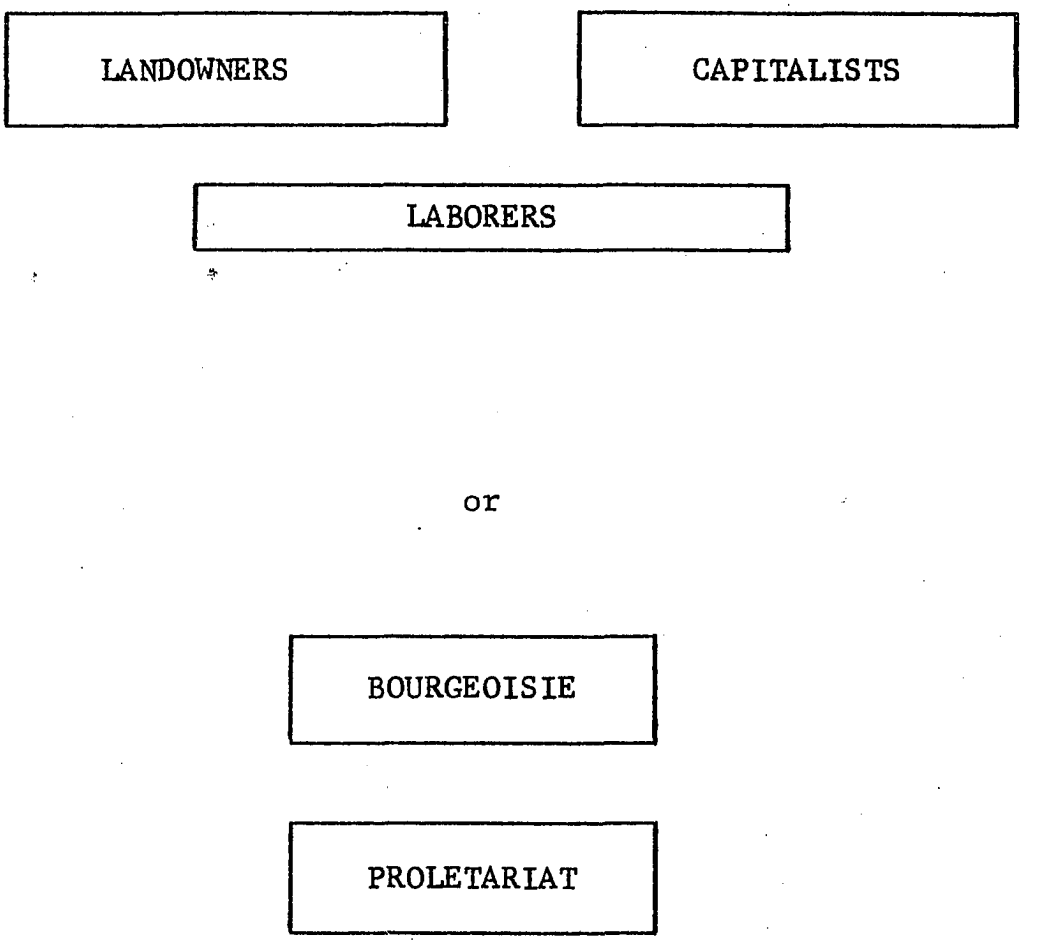

Figure 11. Theoretical model of Incipient Class system structure (Marx's model).

and unless the controlling classes make concessions and the laboring classes seek and gain representation in the power structure, which will result in the Capitalistic Class system, as occurred in England and America, Marx's prediction may come true and the Revolution of the Proletariat will result in the creation of a Socialistic Class system. This alternative has not yet happened, however. What occurred in Russia was a revolution against the monarchy and the established government, within an incipient class society with strong survivals of the earlier estate system, and the establishment of a Socialistic society--this was not a fulfillment of Marx's prophesy. A third alternative would be the peaceful evolution of a socialistic class system, which seemed to be developing in England a few years ago, although it appears that this trend toward socialism may now have reached its limits.

Incipient Class may be either open or closed.

(1) Closed Incipient Class. A closed incipient class system is one in which the classes are endogamous, class positions are hereditary, and there is no upward or downward mobility between the two strata.

This type of stratification might be stable over time provided the upper classes reproduced themselves at

a rate comparable with the necessity for their fulfilling their function in a numerically expanding society, which is doubtful since they usually reproduce at a lesser rate than the lower stratum. Another provision for stability would be the existence of an effective religious or philosophical rationalization for the superior power position of the upper classes within the society, and their observed superior life chances, and this too is doubtful. As a result, the three alternatives suggested above become a real possibility.

(2) Open Incipient Class. An open incipient class system is one in which the recruitment of individuals is on the basis of personal characteristics and achievement, and there is considerable vertical and horizontal mobility.

This type of system might be stable provided there were sufficient opportunities for advancement from the lower to the upper classes, commensurate with the abilities and ambitions of the lower classes, but this is doubtful because of the disparity in number of positions between the two strata, the higher reproduction rate of the lower classes, and the difficulty of a person in the laboring class accumulating enough capital to rise into the upper classes.

b. Capitalistic Class. A capitalistic class system (as well as an incipient class system) is found in a democratic or Fascistic (including Nazi) society in which the economy is based upon private ownership of the means of production, and the motivation of "profit-making" dominates the value pattern of the society.

Definition: A capitalistic class system is one in which power is allocated among positions in a vertical hierarchy within each of three major functional politico-economic areas, ownership, administration, and labor, and each area has equal functional importance for the society as a whole. Those positions which offer their holders a predominant share of ownership or administrative power, plus highly skilled professional and labor positions which give their holders power in the labor market, constitute a "power elite," whereas all other positions are ranged along a continuum from moderate power to a complete lack of power. We may arbitrarily divide these positions into two groups, which we may call the middle classes and the low power classes.

Examination of Figure 12 will indicate that in the capitalistic class system the two horizontal bars of Incipient Classes (Figure 11) have been turned on end, with

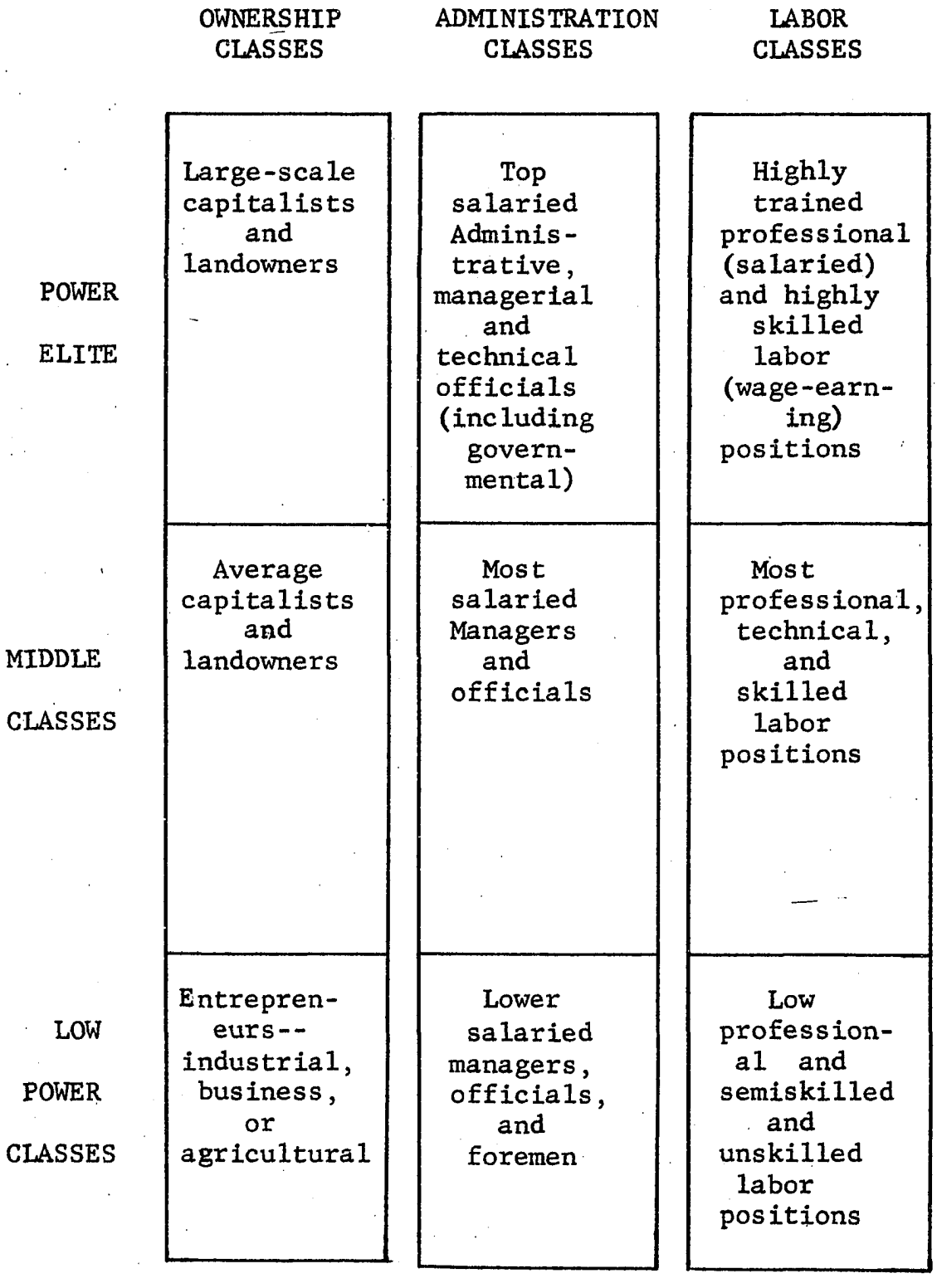

Figure 12. Theoretical model of Capitalistic Class system structure.

a reallocation of power within ownership, administration and labor classes.

The legitimization of the capitalistic class system may be found in classical economies and in the institution of private property. In the capitalistic class system, the ownership of private property (of the means of production) gives political power. And private property is believed to be a natural or divine institution.[27]

The capitalistic class system is necessarily open--the positions are stable, but there is more or less free mobility of individuals and groups, both vertical and horizontal--at least in theory.

Recruitment of individuals is based upon personal competence and training. However, property and capital are as a rule inherited, and, consequently life chances are inherited, and it is therefore possible to draw polar types of recruitment systems, as follows: maximum

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[27] John Locke writes: "Man being born, as has been proved, with a title to perfect freedom, and an uncontrolled enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of the law of nature equally with any other man or number of men in the world, hath by nature a power . . . to preserve his property --that is, his life, liberty, and estate--against the injuries and attempts of other men . . ."--Treatise of Civil Government (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1937), p. 56.

inheritance of property and life chances (semiopen); minimum inheritance of property and life chances (semiclosed).

The capitalistic class system is relatively stable over time provided the opportunities for advancement are not withheld from the lower classes, and provided the elite classes satisfactorily represent and defend the needs and wishes of those below them in the power hierarchy.

c. Socialistic Class. A socialistic class system is found in a society in which the state owns the tools of production and operates all industry. There is no private ownership, except of personal goods, and therefore no inheritance of major property or wealth. There is also a lack of profit-orientation in business, commerce and industry. The allocation of power among positions is consequently based upon political and economic management, rather than upon personal ownership.

This raises a fundamental point in our conceptualization of class. Contrary to the Marxists, the abolition of the landowners and the capitalists as a "class of people" does not abolish the positions formerly occupied by those individuals--farms and industries and commercial enterprises must be managed and supervised. New recruits must

therefore be obtained to fill these positions, and a system of hierarchically ordered positions remains, very little changed, within the "socialistic" state.

With the abolition of capitalistic motivation, plus the abolition of a religious system of sanctions, something must be developed to keep the system functioning. During the "dictatorship of the proletariat," two functions come into the foreground, and become the focal points for the formation of two new classes: strong political power and "intellectual" activity. An exceptionally strong state is essential for the maintenance of the socialistic system, to prevent the "counter-revolution," and to supervise the operations of the state-controlled economy. Thus arise the "political power classes," with their hierarchy of positions, ranging from the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, to the humblest Party member. The so-called "Intelligentsia" includes the notables, the "heroes," the "architects of the new society," the intellectual propagandists, the scientists, artists and writers. The majority of the people still occupy wage-earning positions: little difference it makes to them whether they work for capitalistic entrepreneurs or for the state (for "themselves")--the barriers to mobility into the "choice"

positions in society are still prohibitive for the majority of the population.

Definition: A socialistic class system is one in which the allocation of power among positions is in terms of their functional importance within the three areas of politico-economic control: political, intellectual and labor (see Figure 13).

This system may develop with or without Marx's predicted "inevitable" Revolution of the Proletariat. What is important is not the destruction of the Bourgeoisie as a group of individuals and families, but the destruction of the positions of land and capital ownership, and this can be done peacefully.

The socialistic class system is also necessarily open, with recruitment of individuals based upon abilities and achievement, and a considerable amount of vertical and horizontal mobility.

This type of stratification system is probably stable over time, so long as the politico-economic system succeeds in meeting the material and spiritual (ideological) needs of the people. It is rather doubtful that the dreamed-of classless society of Communism is ever

	POLITICAL POWER CLASSES	INTELLECTUAL CLASSES	LABOR CLASSES
POWER ELITE	High Governmental, Party, military and police officials	Superior Intelligentsia and notables: scientists, artists, writers, "heroes," top professionals, managers and bureaucrats	Most highly skilled and productive laborers
MIDDLE CLASSES	Low level Party officials, members of Supreme Soviet, officers in Armed Forces, police officials	General Intelligentsia: professionals, technicians, bureaucrats	Skilled laborers, white-collar workers, supervisors and managers of collective and state farms
LOW POWER CLASSES	Communist Party members; enlisted personnel in Armed Forces; police personnel	Low level professionals, writers, propagandists	Low level laborers, members of collectives, workers on state farms

Figure 13. Tentative model of Socialistic Class structure in Soviet Union.

capable of achievement, for both sociological and psychological reasons.[28]

II. CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

The United States provides us with the best example of a democratically organized class system, free from the vestiges of any monarchy, or archaic nobility or feudal aristocracy, which complicates the class structure in France, Germany, and particularly England. Although there were evidences of incipient aristocracies in the antebellum South, any such tendencies were halted by the Civil War, as Heberle has pointed out (see Chapter II). There were also tendencies toward aristocracy on the East Coast and in New England, but all that survives are the "old families" of Boston, Philadelphia, etc.

The United States, has, essentially, a class structure which is theoretically open, with free vertical and

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[28]Communism is theoretically a system in which the people collectively own all goods, both producers' and consumers', allocation of goods is in terms of: "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs," and there are "no classes"--in other words, no stratification system. It is highly doubtful that this Utopia can ever be achieved, or if so, that it will for long survive.

horizontal mobility, although the opportunity for upward mobility is probably not as prevalent as some spokesmen for our system would have us believe. Contrary to Nisbet and others who insist that the concept of class is outdated and not useful for studying American society, it seems quite evident that we live within a highly structured system of ranked positions, in which the requirements for many of the top power-related positions are so rigid (and the positions so few) as to discourage a large proportion of the population from even attempting to raise themselves into those positions.

The class structure in the United States follows the general theoretical model of Capitalistic class (Figure 12). It consists of a hierarchy of positions within each of three major class categories: ownership, administration and labor. The source of power is the relationship of one's position to the economy of the nation--to property and to market-relations. Government is closely tied in with the economy--not only does government regulate and, to a certain extent, control all production and distribution, while, on the other hand, the interests of production and distribution influence governmental legislation; but, even more important for our

theory of class, the high power positions within both government and the economic system recruit their holders from among a common pool of trained administrators--the human power elite (as distinguished from the "power elite of positions").

And now Weber's class theory becomes important to our discussion. The two types of positions which give their holders access to power within the class structure are those with positive property privileges and positive acquisition privileges. Weber saw the interrelationship of property and acquisition power, but did not quite succeed in relating these factors to each other. This I have tried to do in Figure 14, utilizing Weber's examples of the different class-related positions whenever possible.

The next step in attempting to draw a model of the American class structure is to fit the two models of Capitalistic classes and Property-Acquisition classes (Figures 12 and 14) together. This I have attempted to do in Figure 15.[29] The three property class categories are

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[29]The operation by which Figure 15 was arrived at was as follows: first a capitalistic class model was drawn (as in Figure 12). Then bending lines were drawn across the model, through the classes, to represent the approximate relationships of the classes to property privileges (as in

PROPERTY CLASSES	ACQUISITION CLASSES: Positively Privileged	Middle Classes	Negatively Privileged
Positively Privileged	Large-scale merchants, industrialists, agricultural entrepreneurs, bankers, financiers	Top administrative and managerial officials, Rentiers	(This category seems logically impossible)
Middle Classes	Successful small merchants, industrialists, agricultural entrepreneurs, bankers, upper professional and managerial	Self-employed artisans, public and private officials, professional persons, highly qualified workers, farmers	Skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled laborers
Negatively Privileged	Propertyless speculators (renters) (although successful speculation would lead to property privileges)	Successful propertyless commercial farm tenants, or small business operators (renters)	The poor, the indebted

Figure 14. Theoretical model of Property and Acquisition classes adapted from Max Weber's theory of class. Each box represents the source for the potential development of a "social class" (or "social classes").

indicated by descending diagonal lines, and the three acquisition class categories by ascending diagonal lines (from left to right), both sets of categories cutting through the three classes of Ownership, Administration and Labor. These classes have, in turn, been subdivided into capital or land ownership, professional or technical administration, and professional services or labor. The two horizontal lines which bisect the angles formed by the intersection of the property and acquisition lines are called the "power lines." In other words, those positions which give their holders positive property privileges, or positive acquisition privileges, or both, constitute the "power elite." Those positions which afford their holders negative property or negative acquisition privileges, or both, constitute the low power (or powerless) classes. All those positions which fall in between the two power lines I shall call the "middle power classes."

Figure 14). Bending lines were then drawn down, through or between the classes, to represent the approximate relationships of the classes to acquisition privileges. Finally, the entire model was squeezed into its present shape, in which the original property and acquisition lines can be represented by straight lines. The power lines were then drawn, bisecting the angles formed by the intersection of the property and acquisition lines.

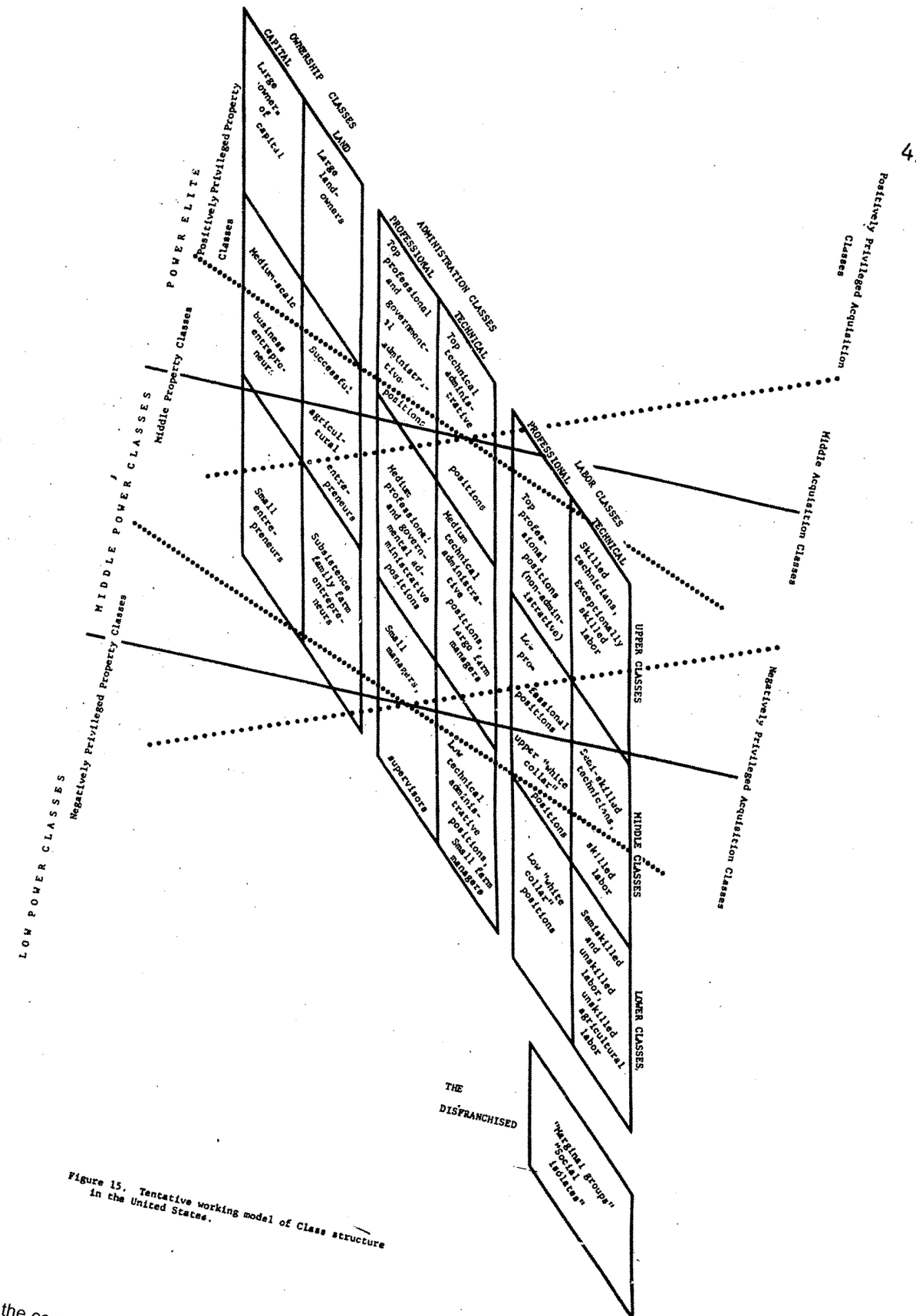

Figure 15. Tentative working model of class structure in the United States.

It will be noted on the diagram that the property lines, acquisition lines, and power lines do not follow the boundaries of any of the classes, but cut across the classes at different places. The actual location at which these lines cut across the classes is of no significance. This diagram is intended to be representative only. The question might arise, for example: what to do with a position which falls in the category of "successful agricultural entrepreneurs"? Should the position be placed above or below the power line? This is no problem. This diagram is purposed to give a schematic representation of the approximate locations of the various class categories, and not of the individual positions within each category, within the total power structure of American society.[30] Furthermore, this diagram is presented as a tentative model,

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[30]This figure, and all the other figures in this chapter, are not to be construed as representing the "shape" of societal stratification systems. Society is not here being described as a parallelogram or a series of horizontal or vertical bars. Social action, which takes place in a four-dimensional space-time continuum cannot be portrayed accurately in a two-dimensional drawing. Furthermore, these diagrams do not represent the relative sizes of the stratification categories. All they are supposed to do is to illustrate the approximate power relationships of the various stratification categories to each other.

to serve as a basis for research, and is subject to modification and refinement.

Figure 15 is offered primarily as a methodological device for measuring classes in the United States, using Census data. Considering occupation as an index or key (and nothing beyond that) to class (and power) position, we can arrange all of the occupations listed in the United States Census within the boxes of Figure 15, and count the number of persons engaged in the occupations within each box. This will give us an index with which to compute the approximate size of the respective classes, by multiplying each category total by the average size of family for that particular class grouping. From the location of the class category with respect to the power lines, we shall also have a clue as to its relative location within the American power structure (and the power lines can be shifted to conform to data obtained empirically).

In order to do this, more information is needed than is available in the regularly published Census reports. Quantitative data are needed, broken down into the categories and subcategories listed below, and for the reasons indicated.

(1) We should not forget that our class theory is in

terms of positions rather than persons. The United States Census, on the other hand, is a census of the occupations of people. To get around this, we shall have to use the census of "employed" (rather than "experienced civilian labor force"), because this affords us an index of the positions available within the occupational structure at the time the census was taken. This holds true, for our purposes, even in a time of severe depression--the number "employed" is an index of the number of positions available in the society at the time of the depression--the mass of unemployed persons constitutes a surplus which cannot be placed in positions within the occupational structure.

(2) We also need the number of persons in the labor force but unemployed, but what to do with them is a problem. The unemployed persons are (perhaps very temporarily) in a different class position than they had held previously--among the negatively privileged and powerless category of the "poor," or among those "living off property" if they had accumulated enough to tide them through their period of unemployment without any drastic change in their style of living. We cannot throw them all into the category of the powerless, because some of them may be maintaining a

position within the power structure on the basis of accumulated wealth or property. I cannot answer this problem right now--this requires further investigation.

(3) We need the occupations of the heads of families (or households), since the class position of individuals is the class position of the family, which is best represented by the economic position of the head of the family.

(4) We also need the occupation of the spouse, since the family station, which includes the positions of all members of the family, is the determining factor in the class position of the family. For example, if a small business entrepreneur has a wife who is a member of the United States Senate, the class position of the family is affected by the wife's as well as the husband's position.

(5) We need to distinguish by sex of head of household. If a female is head, is she married or divorced, widowed, etc. A family with an invalid father, formerly a big business entrepreneur, and a working mother, in a low, white collar position, might still retain the class position enjoyed while the father was working. How to account for this from Census data is another matter, however.

(6) We also need the occupations of "unrelated

individuals," because their occupation would be the index of their class position.

(7) We need a breakdown between self-employed and salaried, to distinguish between entrepreneurial and salaried managerial or professional or labor categories.

(8) On our diagram (Figure 15), we have thrown the farm managers together with the technical administration categories, and the agricultural laborers with the unskilled laborers, because our class categories are defined in terms of their relationship to power--i.e., property and market relations, based upon ownership, management, or mere services. But in measuring classes, we should keep agricultural positions separate from other positions since they lead to different power interests, and they form the bases for the development of different, and possibly antagonistic, "social classes" (in Weber's conceptualization).

(9) We need to distinguish between farm owners, farm tenants (cash or share), salaried farm managers, sharecroppers, permanent farm laborers, and migratory workers (who fall among "the disfranchised").

(10) We need to distinguish between certain income or salary groupings. For example, to separate "large

manufacturers" from "small manufacturers," we may have to set a more or less arbitrary income figure as the dividing line between the two categories.

(11) Many of the "detailed" occupational categories listed in the Census need to be further broken down for our purposes. For example, the title, "College presidents, professors, and instructors," needs to be subdivided, since college presidents belong in the professional administrative categories (top or middle), professors belong in the professional labor categories (top or middle), and instructors belong in the middle professional labor category. "Clergymen" should be divided into administrative and professional (nonadministrative) categories, at different levels.

(12) We need figures for members of the Armed Forces, according to whether or not they are heads of households, spouses of employed males, or unattached persons, by rank and type of position: administrative, technical, or services (labor).

(13) Inmates of penal institutions belong among the disfranchised.

(14) We need to determine the number of persons within the "marginal groups" of society, and the "social

isolates" ("hoboes," hermits, etc.), who are not a part of the class system but who constitute a social problem for the society.

(15) All data compiled from the Census reports need to be broken down by race, particularly white and nonwhite. It is a recognized fact that few persons of nonwhite extraction hold positions of high power and authority within the federal government, the state governments, big business, industry, or agricultural enterprise, or even within the academic profession. This is in accord with my position that the other races (Negro and Mongoloid), where they are found in considerable numbers, form communities rather than "castes." The cause for the Negro's and the Mongoloid's inferior position within the power structure of American society is not that he belongs to an inferior caste in the South, or on the West Coast, but because he belongs to a low-ranked community (low in power) wherever he resides in the United States--North, South, East or West. Members of these low-ranked communities do not have access to the higher positions within the urban, the regional, or the societal stratification systems--only are a few individuals able, through their personal efforts, to overcome their community handicaps by rising into high

positions within the class system of American society.

There are undoubtedly other distinctions and refinements from the Census classifications which must be made, but these must be worked out empirically.

In conclusion, this section has attempted to present a model for a quantitative analysis of class structure in the United States, using the reported occupations of employed individuals as an index to the number of positions available within the society. No attempt has been made actually to classify the various occupations according to the class categories into which they fall, but this is reserved for future research. It is hoped that this model may serve as a foundation for a more productive type of census analysis than the presently available occupational indices.

The potentialities of the theoretical models described in this chapter for future stratification research will be outlined in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter should rightfully be entitled the "beginning" rather than the "end," if the author's contentions are valid. It has not been the intention in writing this dissertation to "solve" the problems of stratification theory (assuming, as I do, that they can be solved), or to present a "finished theory" of stratification--such an aim would be presumptuous as well as futile. But it has been the purpose to seek out, from amongst the maze of varied and contradictory theoretical and research approaches to stratification, the most fruitful and valid, and to attempt to set the direction for a more rewarding future for the sociology of stratification. The major findings and conclusions of this study may be summarized as follows.

I. SUMMARY

Most contemporary works in stratification theory either start with Marx and progress along the direction of

classical theory, or they begin and end with the community researches and the quantitative studies--for the most part the vast literature on stratification theory, extending back to 1767, is ignored. In Chapter I we have tried to set this matter right by tracing carefully the progress of stratification theory (within the linguistic limitations of the author) from its beginnings down to and including the early American sociologists. The story was long and varied--there were many abortive attempts and sterile approaches in the early theorizings. Unfortunately, many of the mistakes of that pioneer period have been carried, unknowingly (?) down to the present day.

But, throughout the early period of stratification theory, there was one trend which offers the basis for a sound sociology of stratification--namely, the classical tradition of stratification theory, from Ferguson and Millar to Marx, to Max Weber, and down to the present in the writings of Toennies, K. B. Mayer, Dahrendorf and Heberle. Chapter II was devoted to a detailed and critical discussion of this tradition, attempting, at the same time, to correct some of the current misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the "classical" views.

As we have seen, Marx developed a conflictual model

of class theory, in which classes are defined in terms of the relations of their members to the means of production; specifically, to property relations. Weber modified Marx's theory somewhat, by finding the source of classes in modern society in the market relations rather than in the property relations, which permits a finer discrimination between different types and sources of "class" conflicts; for example, Weber differentiates between the conflicts between landlords and peasants in a property-oriented economy and the conflicts between capitalists and laborers in a market-oriented economy. Weber's discrimination between property, acquisition and "social" classes seems to me to be his major contribution to stratification theory, ranking in importance with Marx's contributions concerning class conflict and class consciousness.

In Chapter III we reviewed the empirical and quantitative approaches to stratification, and found them to be unrelated to sound stratification theory, although the occupational indices were shown to offer, perhaps, the best means of obtaining quantitative data relative to classes in a large, contemporary society. The basic requisites for a systematic theory of stratification were spelled out, with the following highlights: stratification theory must

be based upon and developed out of a theory of organization; theory and empirical research must progress together; stratification theory must be in terms of positions rather than individuals; stratification is defined in terms of the relations of the stratified collectives to the economic system, and not by its consequences: prestige, style of life, etc.; stratification is a durable system of power-distribution within a society. Classes, the most pertinent type of stratification system for contemporary theorists, were defined in terms of the relations of their members to the distribution of goods and services--the market-relations. In conformity with these essential requisites, a paradigm was developed, which, it is hoped, may serve as the basis for productive future efforts in theory and research.

In Chapter IV, we outlined, very briefly, tentative theoretical models for the three major types of stratification systems: caste, estate and class, and their subtypes, the latter based upon degree of mobility permitted by the system. We attempted to apply these models to a number of societies in order to demonstrate how this may be done, and also to illustrate some of the different ways in which actual societal stratification systems may deviate from the

theoretical models. Finally, we attempted to present a model and an outline for a quantitative measure applicable to the class structure of the United States, using the occupations of employed persons as an index to the positions available within the social system, and utilizing Census data.

II. CONCLUSIONS

It has become apparent throughout this dissertation that stratification has often been approached as a special (and oftentimes minor) aspect of general sociology--sometimes, as a sort of "hobby" because of its "interesting" aspects: few American theorists have devoted themselves to the subject with the zeal of European scholars. But it has also become apparent, I hope, that stratification theory constitutes, in reality, a major area of interest with which sociologists ought to concern themselves--that stratification is an essential aspect of social life--and that the Sociology of Stratification should rank as one of the major branches within the discipline of sociology.

It is further concluded that stratification, in spite of its great diversity and complexity, can be brought within the bounds of a single, unified theory, and

that theory and empirical research can be coordinated. Even modern classes: those sometimes vast and "abstract" categories of economic collectivities, can be brought within the compass of a theoretical model, which will make possible empirical quantitative studies.

Finally, it is concluded that the structural-functional model is not a "static" model; that it offers the most productive approach to theory and research in stratification; and that it may also (and necessarily must) include the problem of class conflict, which is, undoubtedly, as important to the concept of class as is that of function.

III. IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

It is proposed that future research should be directed both at applying the theory proposed in this dissertation in empirical research, and at modifying, correcting and refining the theory as a result of the empirical research findings. The major areas, and some of the topics for empirical research are outlined hereunder.

1. Studies of societal stratification structure

The study of the societal stratification structure of various societies, past and contemporary, on the basis

of the theoretical models presented in Chapter IV, may form the basis for more accurate description of the stratificatory aspects of those societies; for more accurate comparison of different societies; as well as for a revision of the theoretical models in the direction of developing general models applicable to any and every known societal system. In addition, it is believed that this type of approach will provide new insight into the causes and the processes of stratification change--as well as organizational change, itself. It is proposed that such studies may be organized along three different lines: (a) historical studies of selected past societies; (b) contemporary studies of ongoing social systems; and (c) comparative studies of, for example, two caste societies, or one caste and one estate society.

2. Studies of group and association stratification structure

The paradigm outlined in Chapter III should provide the basis for studies of the stratification structure of various groups and associations, for example: family stratification systems within various socially or ethnically homogeneous collectivities; stratification structure of

certain types of economic associations.

3. Studies of specific occupations

Specific occupations or occupational categories may be studied in order to determine more precisely their correct location within the class structure. In addition, there are many occupations which offer the individuals pursuing them the opportunity of obtaining several positions within different class categories, possibly with different degrees of property and acquisition privileges. For example, a successful farmer may be asked to serve on the board of directors of a local bank; a college professor may be offered an advisory or administrative position with a governmental agency; a number of physicians may open up a completely equipped medical clinic, and find that they have become economic entrepreneurs. Occupational studies along the lines suggested here should prove valuable to stratification theory.

4. Occupational measures of classes

The theoretical model presented in Chapter IV will, I hope, provide the basis for a grouping of occupations according to their class position. This grouping will

make possible quantitative studies, utilizing Census data, of three different aspects of stratification: size of classes; degree of mobility; and changes in the class structure.

a. Size of classes. The steps necessary to measuring the size of classes in the United States (using occupation as an index to class position) are as follows:

1. Allocate all of the occupations listed in the "detailed occupation" classification of the U. S. Census among the various class categories in Figure 15 (Chapter IV). Some of the occupational categories will need to be subdivided, and allocated to two or more different class locations, on the basis of size of property holdings (large, average and small farms; big and small industrial enterprises), income (big and small merchants, etc.), scope of administrative power (top, medium and small administrators and managers), degree of skill in professional (salaried) or labor (wage-earning) positions. Additional suballocation will need to be done on the basis of community opportunities for societal power-related positions; i.e., white and nonwhite occupants of positions. In addition, some Census categories need to be further

differentiated (e.g., "college presidents, professors and instructors"; "managers, officials and proprietors").

2. The U. S. Census Bureau does not publish detailed information which will make possible all of the above allocations. Special reports will need to be requested from the Census Bureau, containing all of the needed data, which should be tabulated and totaled according to the class categories shown in Figure 15 and the subcategories indicated in Chapter IV (agricultural and non-agricultural, etc.). The resulting total of the numbers of employed persons within each class (occupational) category for the Census year is taken as an approximation of the number of positions within the structure of that class. The total of all the class categories (i.e., the total number of employed persons) is taken as an approximation of the number of positions within the class structure of the United States (these totals should be adjusted to include the retired, the independently wealthy, etc.).

3. The number of positions (employed individuals) in each class category should be multiplied by the average family size for each category, and the totals corrected consistent with the known population. This gives us the size of the various classes in the country.

4. All other categories of individuals and groups should be added to the tables: disfranchised individuals, groups and societies: prison inmates, convicted felons (not incarcerated), the legally incompetent, migratory laborers, aliens, marginal groups, American Indians, etc. The resulting tables will indicate the approximate sizes of all the "class-related" collectivities in the United States: property and acquisition classes and subclasses; potential "social classes"; the disfranchised (outside the class structure).

b. Changes in the American class structure. By computing an approximation of the various class categories (a. 2, above) for several census years (e.g., 1920, 1940, 1960), and comparing them, it will be possible to analyze the changes in the class structure over a period of time.

c. Mobility. An estimate of mobility (as defined in Chapter III) may be made in two ways, utilizing the models in Chapter IV.

1. Develop a set of occupational categories representative of each of the class categories. Select a representative sample of the American population. Ask respondents for their occupation in various census years

(as in b, above), as a measure of intragenerational mobility. Ask respondents for major occupations of father and paternal grandfather, as a measure of intergenerational mobility. It should be kept in mind that this suggested research differs from past research in that in this instance mobility shall be considered as the movement from one class category to another, whereas previous studies have been concerned merely with mobility from one occupation to another or worse--from one "major occupational grouping" to another!

2. A question might be added to the U. S. Census, asking for same information as in 1, above, using a limited sampling technique (asking the question of only a sample of the persons counted). Data on mobility could then be computed by the Census bureau, on the basis of both occupational and class mobility.

d. Study of "free" as opposed to "structural" mobility. The data pertaining to mobility should be compared with the data pertaining to changes in the class structure. For example, the quantitative measure of mobility from 1920 to 1960 should be compared with the change in the class structure between 1920 and 1960.

These two sets of data were gathered from entirely different sources, and are therefore independent of each other. It is suspected, however, that the two will be highly correlated, which would indicate that most of the mobility in the United States over the past forty years is the result of the necessary change in position resulting from the change in the economic (and occupational) structure. The extent to which the mobility deviates from the change in the occupational structure will be a measure of the "free" mobility (i.e., unrelated to structural change) from class position to class position. This is essentially what Natalie Rogoff attempted to accomplish in a recent study, which was conducted with inadequate data and an inadequate theoretical frame of reference.[1]

The above research proposals are offered with the sincere hope that this dissertation may help, in some small way, to develop interest in empirical research in stratification, conducted within the framework of a general theory of stratification.

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[1]Natalie Rogoff, "Recent Trends in Urban Occupational Mobility." In: Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status and Power, pp. 442-54.

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VITA

The author was born on October 4, 1917, in Irasburg, Vermont. He attended elementary and secondary schools in Vermont and New Hampshire, and was graduated from Tilton School, Tilton, New Hampshire, in 1935. He attended Concord College of Business, Concord, New Hampshire, from 1935 to 1937, and was an instructor at Laconia Business College, Laconia, New Hampshire, from 1938 to 1940. He served in the United States Army from December 5, 1940 to March 29, 1946.

The author received his Bachelor of Arts degree, magna cum laude, from Harvard University in 1950. He received his Master of Arts degree from the University of Minnesota in 1957, where he was an instructor in sociology during the school year, 1952-1953. He was married to the former Delores M. Ritter in 1956.

The author enrolled in the Graduate School at Louisiana State University in the fall of 1957, as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in sociology and a minor in anthropology. He was an instructor in sociology from 1959 to 1960.

EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: John Drenan Kelley

Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis: The Sociology of Stratification: A Theory of the Power Structure of Society

Approved:

R. Hubert
Major Professor and Chairman

Richard J. Russell
Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Roland J. Pellegrin

Walfred J. Jokinen

Fred Kniffen

Frederick L. Bates

Date of Examination:

May 8, 1961